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London : Taylor & Walton, 1839-1841.

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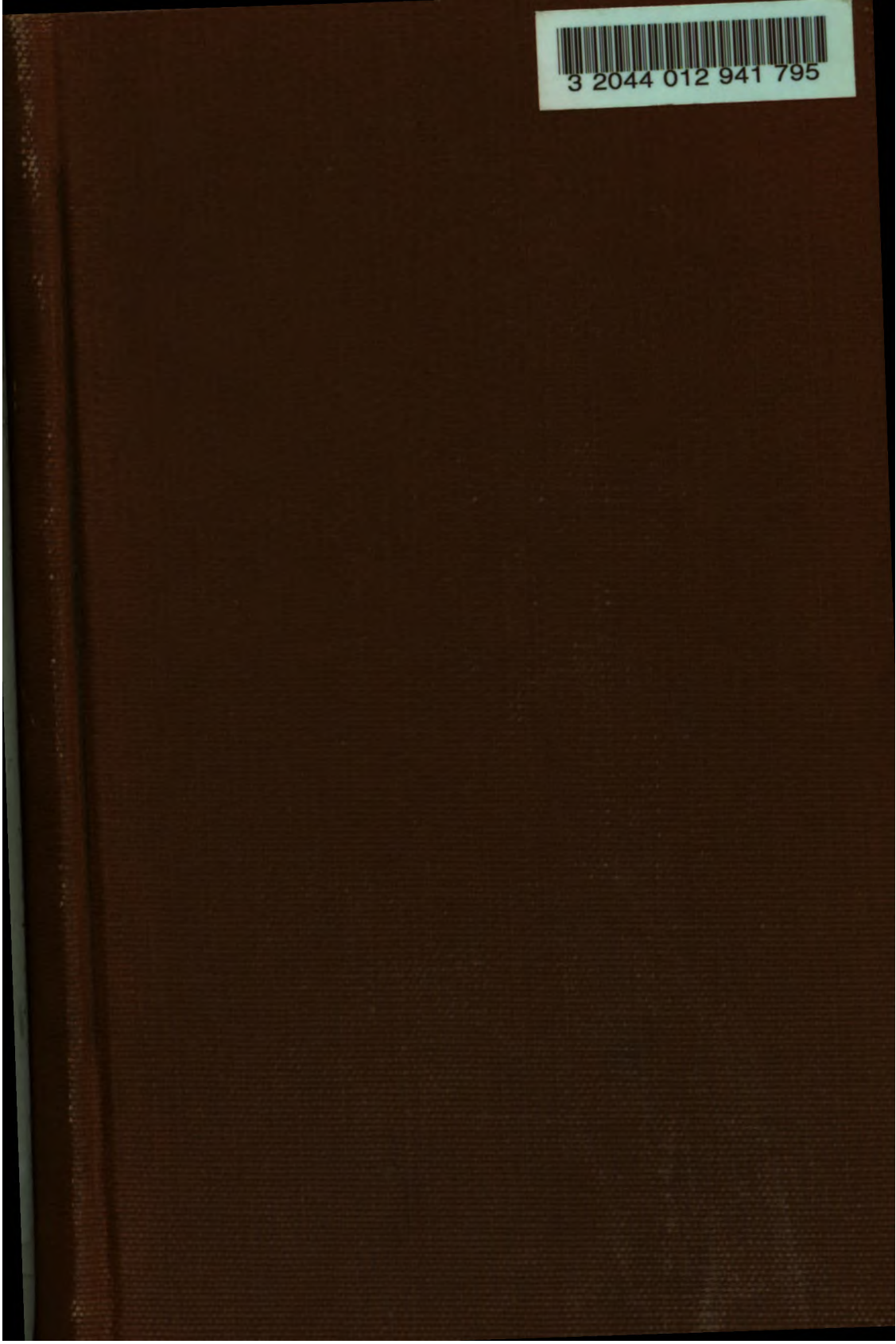
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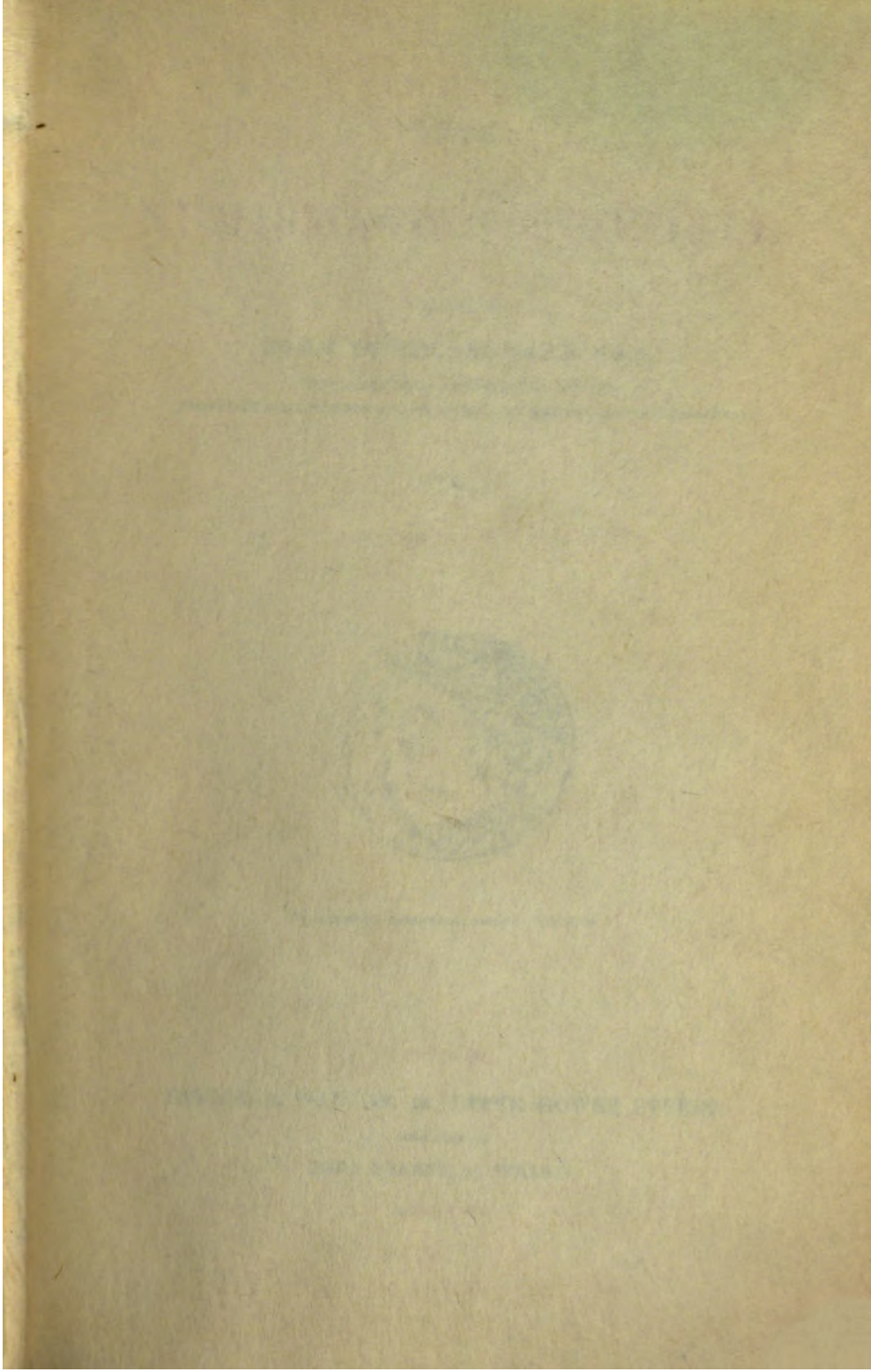

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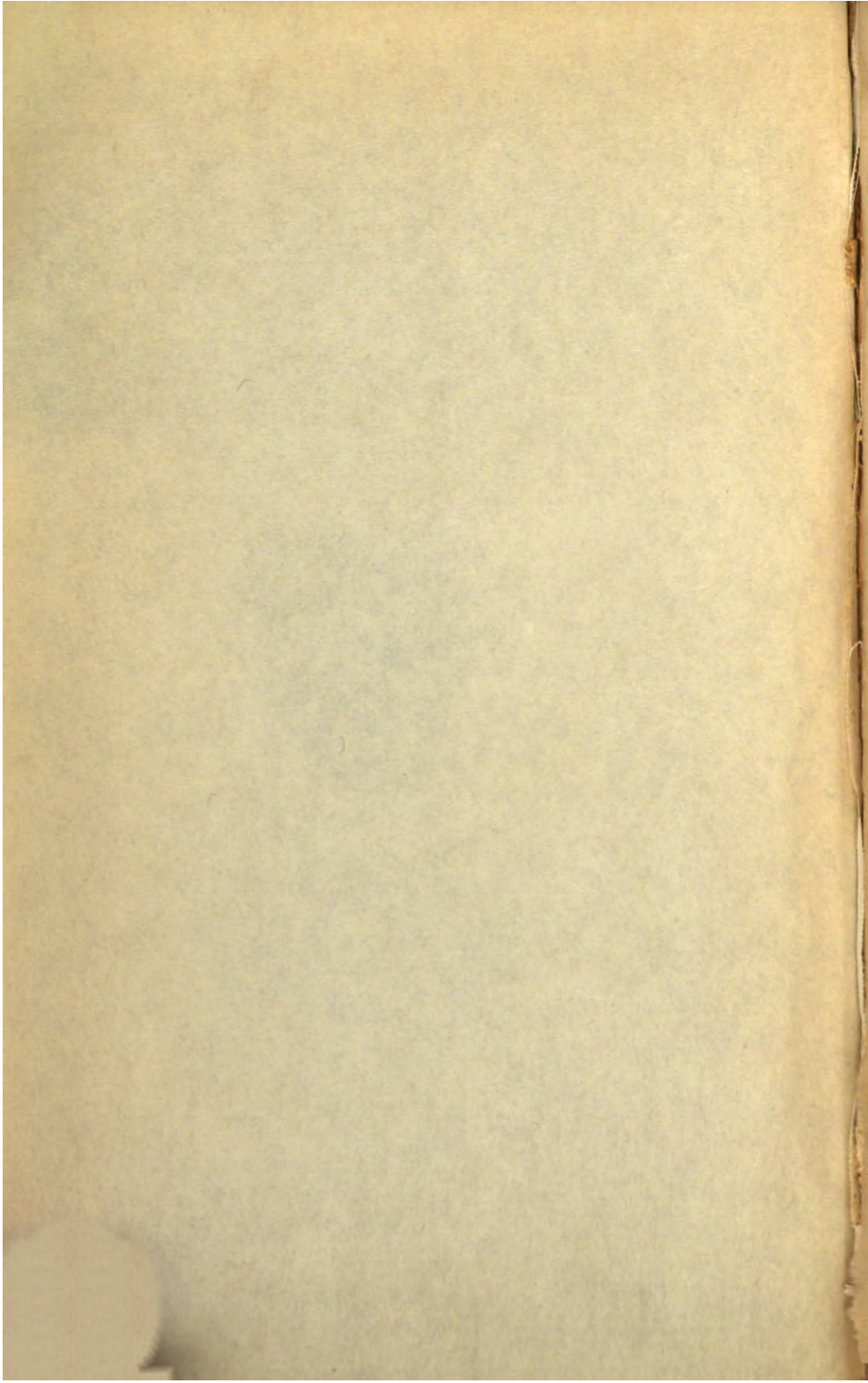

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THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE

EDITED BY

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A.

SECRETARY TO THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

VOL. I.

JUNE, 1838.—APRIL, 1839.

Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. *Fast.*

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TO

THOMAS BURGON, ESQ.

ONE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,
ETC., ETC., ETC.,

WHOSE KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK COINS
IS DISPLAYED
IN HIS SCIENTIFICALLY FORMED, AND CHOICE COLLECTION;
AND WHOSE ZEAL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
NUMISMATIC STUDIES
IS EVINCED BY HIS READINESS, ON ALL OCCASIONS,
TO IMPART THE INFORMATION HE HAS ACQUIRED
DURING A LONG AND FAMILIAR ACQUAINTANCE WITH THOSE
REMARKABLE OBJECTS OF ANTIQUITY,
THIS,
THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
IS
RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY
DEDICATED.

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

REMARKS ON THE COINS OF NORTHUMBRIA.

By Edward Hawkins, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 26, 1838.]

Almost all collectors of Anglo-Saxon coins have been dissatisfied with the position, which has been assigned to certain coins, which are ascribed to Egberth, king of Kent: all collectors have felt that Kent was not their proper locality, but that they ought properly to find a home in the North. I am not aware that any attempt has been made to locate them in that part of the world; but I fancy that I have discovered the time and place of their birth, and shall state my views, without further preface, for the amusement, and perhaps instruction of my brother numismatists. At pages 18 and 78 of the first volume of the Numismatic Journal, are given woodcuts of two coins, both of which (the coins, though not the cuts) read alike, and must be assigned to Aldfrith, who was king of Northumberland, from 685 to 705.

In 737, Eadbert ascended the Northumbrian throne, and retained his power till 758. To him I am disposed to assign those coins (hitherto given to Egbert, king of Kent)

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which have on the reverse the name of EOTBEREÞTVS, which, for Saxon spelling,[1] is quite near enough to Eadbert to pass for the same name. As in the coin of Aldfrith, only thirty years preceding, we have an animal on one side, and the name of the king on the other; so upon these hitherto called Kentish coins, a similar arrangement of similar types and names occurs. Those coins which bear the name of Egbert, and have for the type a figure holding what have been called two sceptres, I consider to have been struck by the joint authority of King Eadbert and his brother Egbert, archbishop of York, whom I take to be the person represented at full length holding two crosses, not two sceptres.

Another coin, having an animal on one side and the name of Alchred on the other, I assign to Alchred, who was king of Northumberland from 765 to 774.

How far my brother numismatists may concur with me remains to be seen; but it will, at all events, be admitted to be a curious coincidence, that three coins of similar types, and of the general character of Northumbrian coins, should bear the names of three Northumbrian kings, who, if not in immediate succession one after the other, are sufficiently near in point of time to render a similarity of type probable; and that no name should be found upon any of this description of coin, which does not correspond with that of some Northumbrian king, due allowance being made for incorrect spelling. Besides Eadbert, variously spelt, and Alchred, who have been considered moneyers of Egbert, king of Kent, Ruding mentions Alchired and Ecfvair as other moneyers, but on what authority does not appear; no such names occur on any specimens which I have seen.

[1] Upon one of these coins, the king's name is spelt EAƎ-BEAÞÞTVS, which I believe to be Eadbearhtus, the third letter, though of unusual form, being probably a sort of square ꝺ or D.

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Should these names be correctly stated, I must candidly confess, I cannot find any Northumbrian kings to whom I can apply them. But Alchired looks so very like a corrupt reading of Alchred, that I believe it to be the same.

Mr. Cuff has a coin which reads ELFVAIV. This is an unpronounceable word, and evidently blundered: I am much inclined, therefore, to believe that it was intended for ELFWALD, who reigned from 779 to 788; and I am the more disposed to adhere to this emendation, from the name upon a skeatta which I have since seen in the collection of Mr. Brumell. Upon this coin, some of the letters are placed upside down, and one half of the word reads in a contrary direction to the other half: thus VALDƎƎLA. Beginning from the right, and reading half the word, we have ALEF, then commencing from the left, and reading the other half we have VALD, or altogether ALEFVALD. This mode of reading may appear to be taking great liberties with the name; but as the word was probably intended to have some meaning—and as it can have none without some transposition of the letters—and as a very simple emendation gives a name which we should expect to find upon some such coin—I am inclined to hope my interpretation will not be much objected to.

Though this appropriation of this class of coins to Northumberland has very great probability to recommend it, yet there is a difficulty which must be fairly stated, arising from the metal. I will subjoin a list of Northumbrian kings, of whom we have, or suppose we have, coins, and annex to each the description of coin with which we are acquainted.

Ecgfrid,	670 to 685.	Stycas, Æ. all found in 1813, at Heworth.
Aldfrid,	685 to 705.	Skeatta, Æ. fine, and one Æ. both alike and unique.

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Eadbert,	737 to 758.	Skeattæ, Æ. but very base.
Alchred,	765 to 774.	Skeattæ, Æ.
Elfwald,	779 to 788.	Skeattæ, Æ.
Heardulf,	794 to 806.	Styca, Æ.
Eanred,	808 to 840.	Styca, Æ.
Ethelred,	840 to 848.	Styca, Æ. & one known of Æ, fine silver.
Redulf,	844 to 844.	Styca, Æ.
Osbert,	848 to 867.	Styca, Æ.
Regnald,	912 to 944.	Pennies, Æ.
Anlaf,	945.	Pennies, Æ.
Eric,	951.	Pennies, Æ.

If coins of silver and of copper were simultaneously current in Northumberland, as might be inferred from the two coins of Aldfrid, and the silver one of Ethelred, it is very remarkable that not one copper one should be known of Eadbert, Alchred, or Eadwald; and that but one silver coin should be found of the five following kings, of whom we have so many copper ones. It would appear as if Northumbria had commenced its coinage in copper, then changed to silver, and then reverted to copper, till it adopted the silver penny in the early part of the 10th century, according to the practice of all the rest of the island. The two silver coins of Aldfrid and Ethelred, clearly prove that coins in that metal were, at least, occasionally struck in that kingdom concurrently with copper; but whether, in very rare instances, as a mere caprice of some one concerned in the coinage, or more numerously for general purposes, it is impossible to say, we must wait for the solution of the difficulty till a greater number of coins are discovered. In the mean time I leave my conjectures to the free criticisms of my brother numismatists.

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II.

REMARKS UPON THE SKEATTÆ AND STYCA ATTRIBUTED TO HUTH OF NORTHUMBRIA.

By Edward Hawkins, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 26, 1838.]

In the Numismatic Journal, Vol. II. p. 99, Sir Henry Ellis gives an account of a styca, in his possession, which he assigns to Huth the son of Harold, who, according to Bromton, succeeded Anlaf as king of Northumberland, in 949. Now it must be observed, that no other historian but Bromton, gives to this person the name of Huth; they all give to the son of Harold the name of Eric; and the coins handed down to us concur in this statement. We find, in the earliest chronicles, three successive kings of Northumberland named Regnald, Anlaf, Eric, reigning from 912 to 950. Of Regnald we have a silver penny, on which he is styled *Cunuc* or king; the type is a cross moline on the one side, a small plain cross on the other. We have coins of Anlaf whereon he is styled *Cununc;* and one of them exactly resembles, in type, the one of Regnald just mentioned. Of all the Saxon kings, these two alone have their kingly title expressed in Saxon. Under these circumstances of peculiarity of title and similarity of type, there cannot be any doubt that these coins belong to the Northumbrian monarchs Regnald and Anlaf.

Upon another coin of Anlaf or Onlaf, the king is named Onlaf, and styled Rex. The type of the obverse is a small cross; reverse, the moneyer's name, *Ingelgar Mo*, written in

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two lines, with three crosses between, three pellets above, and as many below. Now there is a coin of Eric with the same type, and the same moneyer's name arranged and accompanied precisely as upon the coin of Onlaf; and these two kings we must suppose to have reigned one immediately after the other.

The only doubt remaining, as to the close approximation in point of time, between Regnald and Eric, is as to the identity of Anlaf and Onlaf. There is a slight, but only a slight, difference between the coins bearing these two names; and they may, perhaps, belong to different persons; but if they do, we are unable to fix upon two such, except the two kings of Northumberland of the same or similar name, who immediately succeeded one to the other—one Anlaf the son of Guthfrith, the other Anlaf the son of Sihtric. If these coins should belong to these two different personages, it would make no alteration in the argument: we should still have an uninterrupted succession of Northumbrian kings, from 912 to 950 (that is, from the accession of Regnald to the death of Eric), all of whom struck silver pennies, and of whom no stycas are known.

The last known styca well authenticated, is of Osbert, who was killed in 868. If there be one of Ella, it brings such coin to no later a period: for he was killed in the same battle as Osbert. It is not, therefore, probable, that such a coin as the styca should be revived after a lapse of 80 years, which is the period between the death of Osbert and accession of Huth; especially when we find, that a totally different description of coin had been in the mean time established in this kingdom of Northumberland for nearly half that period, without any symptom of a contemporaneous styca. We must now call to mind, that Huth of Bromton is the same person as Eric of the other chron-

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iclers; and it does seem almost impossible that this same king should have struck silver pennies under the name of Eric, and brass stycas under the name of Huth.

We must now turn to the Styca itself, and see whether it bears upon its surface, any fact which ought to subvert the foregoing arguments. Upon one side, the workmanship is so rude, that not a single letter can be satisfactorily made out. The other side is well executed, and very legible, except in one part, where one or two letters are obliterated. I read HVA····RET. Sir Henry Ellis read, HVAD·RE+. The material difference between his reading and mine, is in the last letter. He has been, as I think, led into a mistake by the graving tool having accidentally slipped, in the first forming of the upright stroke of the T so that a line, though a very slight one, appears from the top of that letter, to one of the dots immediately above it, in the circle of dots, which forms the ornamental boundary of the type of the coin. The T, by this accident, assumes the appearance of a cross; and, as the arrangement of the letters upon stycas is not very accurate, a cross in that situation could only be read as a ×. A similar slip of the graver is visible at the end of the upright and cross strokes of the preceding letter E, and, less obviously, upon one or two more letters. With regard to the obliterated letter, or letters, in the middle of the word, we can only conjecture; I fancy I perceive rudiments of two letters, and I conjecture them to be ET, partly because the upright stroke of the first letter is sufficiently clear, and might serve for E as well as D; and there is an appearance, beyond it, like the foot of a T; and we should, then, have a name, not exactly the same, but very similar to one upon a styca of Eanred, HVAETRED (see *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pl. xxxix, figg, 155, 156, 157.) Among the numerous stycas mentioned by Mr. Adamson in the paper here referred to, there is not one giving the exact

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name which appears upon that of Sir Henry Ellis; we therefore unfortunately want the assistance which a coin identically the same might have afforded, to supply the deficiency of that now under consideration.

Upon the whole, then, I am disposed to believe, that the name of Huth is itself a mistake of Bromton, being in contradiction to other chroniclers; and that the styca of Sir Henry Ellis affords no confirmation to the statement of that historian. In other words the styca does not belong to any king of the name of Huth, Huath, or Huad; and the very existence of such a king is highly problematical.

It is now necessary that I should say a few words, in reply to a paper which appeared in the Numismatic Journal, communicated by Mr. Lindsay of Cork, (Vol. II. p. 234.) I stated some reasons in the commencement of this paper for believing that the silver pennies attributed to Regnald, Anlaf, and Eric, were correctly so placed; and I did so the more at length, because the correct attribution of stycas, and skeattæ, to Huth, seemed to me very much affected by the settlement of that point. All the arguments grounded upon the establishment of a different description of coin, without the admixture of any well-authenticated concurrent coinage of a different description, which affected the styca, affect still more strongly the skeattæ; and are, I think, sufficient to justify their rejection. I have, however, a little more to say.

Mr. Lindsay first builds his theory upon the correct appropriation of Sir Henry Ellis's styca: that foundation, I think, I have removed from under him; and all the support he could derive from that styca is gone. So also, I must admit, are the objections which I should have made to his theory, if the styca had really belonged to Huth. Coins so dissimilar, in every respect of metal, type, workmanship, and general appearance, can scarcely be admitted to belong

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to one person, without very strong and unequivocal proof. The claims of the skeattæ must be considered upon their own merits, neither benefited, nor injured, by the question respecting the styca.

If we compare the silver pennies of Regnald, Anlaf, and Eric, with these base skeattæ attributed by Mr. Lindsay to Huth, it will be at once perceived that there is the greatest possible difference between them in every respect. It seems almost impossible that coins so absolutely dissimilar could have been issued under the same prince; and the claims of the skeattæ must rest solely upon the legend. Now this appears to me so blundered upon every specimen I have seen, that no solid argument can be grounded upon it. Of the specimens which Mr. Lindsay has given, not one reads correctly: no two read alike. That gentleman's interpretation is "that the legend on both sides is generally TAVHMVAHVAT, the three centre letters MVA for moneta and the word HVAT, at each side, reads from the centre, a mode of reading I have frequently found on Hiberno-Danish coins." Mr. Lindsay has one coin, the centre letters of which are, OMO. With regard to the reading upon the Hiberno-Danish coins, I am sorry to say I am not acquainted with them, nor do I know any coins which have their legends in that *dos-a-dos* fashion. Mr. Lindsay refers to a coin of Edred, as a proof of the union of the king's name with the title *Monetarius;* but it must be observed, that on the numerous coins of Edred and of other kings of those times, the title *Rex* is almost universally annexed, the title *Mon.* only once, and therefore probably a blunder; but upon these skeattæ, the supposed abbreviation of *Monetarius* always occurs, that of *Rex* never.

Another objection to this appropriation of this class of skeattæ, is, that I have never yet heard of any number of

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them having been found in the part of the country where they are supposed to have circulated. I may go further; I do not *know* even of one of this type having been found throughout the whole island. But, in 1808, 542 stycas, and in 1833, about 8000 were discovered, of kings of Northumberland and archbishops of York, in regular succession, from about 808 to 867; amongst them not one skeatta was to be found.

Of Northumbrian kings, commencing with Ecgfrith in 670, and including Eadbert, Alchred, Ethelred, &c. &c. (see page 3, of this volume), down to Eric, who was killed in 950; we have a tolerably complete series of coins, stycas or pennies, but not one skeatta, well authenticated, or even probably appropriated. From all these circumstances, I feel compelled to reject the claim of these skeattæ to be appropriated to Huth; whose very existence even, under that name, seems to rest upon doubtful authority. I am inclined to believe, that, upon a reconsideration of the subject, no one will be more ready to reject the claims of these skeattæ than Mr. Lindsay himself, who to great knowledge adds sound judgment, which will speedily rectify any error into which he may have fallen.

I find it in this case, as in all others, more easy to raise objections against a proposition, than to substitute one more satisfactory. Having driven these skeattæ away from the supposed Huth, and his æra, I am ready candidly to acknowledge that I do not know what to do with them. The whole subject of skeattæ requires attentive consideration; and I am disposed to think that some interesting results would repay the labour which might be bestowed upon them. If we look upon all the varieties of skeattæ as one class, belonging to one country and forming one successive series nearly contemporaneous, we must fix their date as about coeval with

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the introduction of Christianity into the country to which they belong: for some of them have, and others have not, the symbol of the cross. Upon referring to Ruding's plates, it will be perceived that the types are very various; and upon examining the coins themselves, it will be found that the workmanship is of different characters; they therefore may, and probably do, belong to different countries, or at least to different districts. The form of the diadem upon some of the heads, and the character of some of the types, point most indisputably to a Roman origin; while other types, such as the snake and dragon, seem to indicate something of a Danish connexion. The strange figure, which appears upon Ruding's pl. 1. fig. 5 to 16, and which fig. 18 almost proves to have been intended for a bird, so closely resembles that upon the coin attributed to Ethelbert, king of Kent (see Ruding, pl. 3. fig. 1), that it is difficult to suppose that they were not nearly contemporary. Looking at Ruding's plate 26, it will be observed that the quadrupling of the cross upon fig. 11, accords with the similar quadrupling upon various coins of Offa. Upon fig. 13, 14, and 15, and fig. 13, pl. 26, are circular ornaments, as upon Offa, pl. 4, fig. 1 to 5. Referring to pl. 26, fig. 1, 10, 11, 13, and more especially to fig. 6, 7, 9, there will be found figures holding crosses very similar to the coins ascribed to Egbert, king of Kent, but which I have ventured to remove to Northumberland (see page 1 of this volume). And upon pl. 2, fig. 2, 3, 4, 15, and pl. 26, fig. 5, 9, 10, will be found animals not dissimilar to those upon the other Kentish stycas, which I have also ventured to remove to Northumberland. It may now be observed that I have compared certain skeattæ to certain other coins, which have been attributed to Saxon kings, all of whose reigns fall within the years 725 and 796.

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Ethilbert, king of Kent, reigned from		725 to 760
Offa,	Mercia,	757 to 796
Eadberht,	Northumbria,	737 to 758
Alchred,		765 to 774
Elfwald (during the expulsion of Ethelred)		779 to 788
Ethelred		774 to 796

Though the similarity in all these cases may not be so great as to justify any one in asserting that the skeattæ were actually contemporary with the Saxon coins alluded to, yet is there sufficient resemblance to create a belief that there was some connecting link between the two classes of coins; and I should therefore be disposed to give to the skeattæ a date of about the seventh century; and to consider some of them, those especially with a quadruped on one side, as the immediate precursors of those early coins which have been assigned to Kent. I only venture to suggest these ideas to those persons who may be disposed to devote sufficient time and attention to these coins, for their more satisfactory arrangement. It is of the utmost consequence, for a correct appropriation of these and all other doubtful coins, to ascertain as far as possible the exact spots where they have been disinterred; and the nature of the objects which may have been found with them; and I would take this opportunity of pressing more strongly upon the attention of all lovers of antiquity residing in the country, the great importance of ascertaining, beyond all doubt, the exact locality of any discovery of even a single coin; especially those belonging to the period between the departure of the Romans and the Norman conquest, and those which are called British, and which preceded the arrival, or at least the establishment, of the Romans in this island. Many coins must owe their correct appropriation solely to this description of information.

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III.

OBSERVATIONS UPON BRITISH COINS.

By Edward Hawkins, Esq., F. R. S., F. S. A.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, May, 24, 1838.]

The situation of Britain with regard to metallic currency, previous to the arrival and permanent establishment of the Romans in this island, has been the subject of many dissertations and much unsatisfactory discussion.

There will not, I think, be much difficulty in shewing that the doubts which have been entertained, and the strong assertions which have been made upon this subject, are founded upon a misinterpretation of a passage in Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, lib. v. This author is, perhaps, the only competent and contemporary writer who has alluded to the subject; and we need not be surprised that much deference has been paid to his assertions. Upon the authority then of this author, many writers, and judicious ones too, have declared it as their opinion, that, previous to the time of Cæsar, no money, strictly so called, was in circulation among the Britons; but that brass and iron rings or plates, adjusted to a certain weight, were the usual and only medium of traffic. Others, not knowing how to dispose of the coins which they actually saw, and which they could not assign to Romans or to Saxons, but still tethered by Cæsar's assertions, were involved in doubts and hesitation; and terminated their investigations by an acknowledgment, that they could not satisfactorily arrive at any definite expression of opinion.

Eckhel[1], upon whose judgment in general the greatest reliance may be placed, declares that we cannot, with

[1] *Doctrina Num. Vet.* vol. i. p. 80.

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confidence, assert that any ancient coins, except Roman, belong to Britain. He acknowledges that learned men have vaunted of ancient British coins; he admits that Combe, himself a Briton, may have good reasons, with which he is not acquainted, for assigning certain coins to Britain; but he still refers to Cæsar as an authority, that the Britons, during their independence, had not any money. He then quotes the passage of Cæsar in these words, "Utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro numo."

In the addenda to his great work, published some years afterwards, he inserts a remonstrance he had received from some anonymous English writer, and adds a list of some of the coins inscribed CVNO · VER, &c.; but his opinion is not much shaken, and he still hesitates to admit the claim of Britain to these coins.

Relying upon the same authority, other continental authors have adopted the same opinions, and have denied to Britons a coinage of their own. Sestini and Mionnet alike refuse to admit into their arrangement any British coins.

Bishop Nicholson[2] observes, "The money used here in Cæsar's time was nothing more than iron rings, and shapeless pieces of brass: nor does it well appear that ever afterwards their kings brought in any other sort." He then quotes the admirable opinion of his friend Mr. Llwyd, which I shall presently transcribe, and proceeds, "Here is a fair and probable opinion against the express testimony of Julius Cæsar, who could hardly be imposed upon in this part of the account he gives of our isle. Camden's stories of Cunobeline and Queen Bunducia are much of a piece

[2] *English Historical Library*, part. i. chap. 3.

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with those of Dr. Plot's Prasutagus; all of them liable to very just and (to me) unanswerable objections. For my part, I am of opinion that never any of the British kings did coin money. The most, if not all of the forementioned pieces, which are not counterfeits, I take to be amulets."

Ruding[3], at the commencement of his annals, says, "It is difficult to ascertain, from Cæsar's account, whether the Britons had proceeded so far as actually to coin money, or whether they were not contented with rude pieces of brass and iron rings or plates, regulated to a certain weight. The more precious metals, if his statement be correct, did not circulate amongst them. Were his accuracy and extent of information entirely to be depended upon, no other evidence would be necessary to prove, that the coins, which are usually attributed to the early British kings, belong to some other nation, for they occur in gold and silver, as well as in the inferior metals, to which his description, provided it should be taken to intend actual money, absolutely confines them. I know not, indeed, upon what ground the authority of Cæsar, as to this point, can be impeached. If we proceed to examine the coins themselves, they furnish no proofs to justify their appropriation to any country." Struck however, by the assertion that such coins are found frequently in Britain and no where else, he still observes, "The words of Cæsar, however, forbid me to admit that they were in existence when he landed on this island; and therefore, if they be British, their origin must be referred to some period subsequent to his second invasion, and prior to Cunobeline's improvement of his coins in imitation of the Roman money. This, it is true, will give but a short space for their formation; but the supposition appears

[3] *Annals of the Coinage of Britain*, 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 263.

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to me more plausible than any which may be formed in direct opposition to Cæsar's account." He quotes the passage of Cæsar from the Edit. Rom. 1469, "Utuntur tamen ære, ut nummo aureo, aut annulis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummis."

It was not from careless haste, or want of consideration, or from their attention not having been drawn to facts, which ought to have led to a correct judgment upon the question under discussion, that these authors formed their opinions; but from allowing all facts and arguments to be borne down by what they deemed to be the assertion of Cæsar. Speed had acknowledged Cæsar's assertion, that "the coynes which they (the Britons) had, were either of brasse, or else iron rings sized at a certain weight, which they used for money," and fancied he had seen such objects which had been dug up. Struck, however, by the peculiar and un-Romanlike appearance of the coins frequently found in Britain, he proceeds: "But as times grew more civil and traffic more frequent, they shortly after stampt both silver and gold. The coins are commonly embossed and shield-like, whereon the inscription or face is seen; the reverse hollow, and therein the device set, and by these forms are they known to be British, no other nation stamping the like, except some few among the Grecians." Speed, *History of Great Britain*, book v. chap. 4. sect. 12.

Camden says[4], "There are found frequently in this island coins of gold, silver, and copper, of various sizes, and almost all of them concave on one side; some with inscriptions, others very plain ones, such as I have not yet learned to have been dug up any where else till lately (1607) some such were found in France."

[4] *Britannia. Conjectures on British Coins.*

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Llwyd, in the passage I have before alluded to, says, he believed that before the coming-in of the Romans, the Britons had gold coins of their own, because there have been frequently found thick pieces of that metal hollowed on one side, with a variety of unintelligible marks and characters upon them. These cannot be ascribed either to Romans, Saxons, or Danes; and therefore it is reasonable we should conclude them to be British: and the reason why he thought they were coined before the Romans came is this;—"If the Britons had learned the art from them, they would have endeavoured to imitate their manner of coining." Such reasonable conjectures as those of Speed, Camden, and Llwyd, founded, as they were, upon well established facts, failed of convincing those who placed their reliance upon a passage of Cæsar, well known to be more obscured by various readings than, perhaps, any passage in his works. As then, what I consider the just right of Britain to an independent coinage of her own, has been denied to her almost entirely upon the authority of this celebrated passage of Cæsar, I have thought it well worth the trouble of attempting to ascertain, if possible, the correct reading of Cæsar, or, at all events, one which may be, in a great degree, borne out by facts which are almost daily before us.

In the British Museum is a very valuable manuscript of Cæsar of the tenth century, the reading of which is "Utuntur aut ære, aut nummo aureo, aut anulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo." MS. Add. 10084, fol. 27. b.

In this reading the following manuscripts concur (the only variations being, in some, *autem* instead of the first *aut;* or *ere* for *ære*):—

Brit. Mus. Burney, 132, p. 88; *Harl.* 2459, fol. 55, b.;—*Harl.* 2683, fol. 30, b.;— *Harl.* 4639, fol. 29;— *MS. Add.* 10085, fol. 51. b.;—*Paris Cod.* 5769, 5670, 5671, 5773.

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The Paris manuscripts 5056, 5766, 5772, 5763, 5768, Brit. Mus. Harl. 4834, all read *aliis* instead of *annulis*; as does Paris Cod. 5774; the word *æreo* being inserted in the margin opposite to *aureo*. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that *aliis* can scarcely be anything but the misreading of a contraction of *annulis*, misunderstood by some early transcriber:—

—— aut ere aut nummo ereo, aut aleis
Harl. 4106.

—— aut ære aut nummo æreo, aut aliis
Merton Coll. Oxon. Sec. xiii. aut xiv.; — *Harl.* 4629; — *Paris*, 5765.

———————————— aut taleis. — *Paris*, 5764.

One Paris Cod. 5767, is so manifestly corrupt as scarcely to require mentioning. It reads, "utuntur aut minimo ære aut aureo aut aleis ferreis."

Of all the manuscripts of Cæsar which have been quoted above, or perhaps elsewhere, the most ancient and the most correct, is probably the one placed at the head of the list 10084. In the admission of the word *nummo*, combined with *aureo* or *æreo*, and the most material word in the whole passage, it is supported by all the other copies; and in the word *aureo*, another most important word, by nineteen out of the twenty-two referred to. Indeed, I believe it will be found that every manuscript, having the least pretensions to correctness, asserts that the Britons used money of some sort or other, copper or gold, as well as rings or plates, or pieces of iron delivered by weight. In this the early editions concur, down to the end of the sixteenth century.

It is Scaliger, who, in 1635, seems first to have omitted all

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mention of money; in which I cannot perceive that he was supported by any manuscripts: he gives the passage thus: "utuntur aut æreo aut taleis ferreis." And he was followed by perhaps all editors till the year 1737, when Oudendorpius merely changed the word *æreo* into *ære*. This reading might admit that the Britons used copper money; the word *æs* being used more frequently in the sense of money than of the mere metal: but Eckhel, who used the passage in this form, does not admit that interpretation: he still does not allow money to this island; and we have already seen that such is the opinion which has been entertained by many writers, who have placed more reliance upon the supposed authenticity of Cæsar than upon indisputable facts which were within their own knowledge, and which ought to have led them to examine whether Cæsar really did write what was imputed to him.

Under these circumstances, I am disposed to consider that the reading above given, from MS. 10084, is the true reading of the controverted passage of Cæsar, notwithstanding its almost universal rejection by his numerous editors. In this passage, the word "*æs*" can scarcely be considered to refer merely to metal; it must mean *æs cusum*, struck money; such being the usual, perhaps universal, term for copper or brass money. The passage then will stand thus: "They," the Britons, "use either brass money, or gold money, or, instead of money, iron rings adjusted to a certain weight." It remains now to examine how far the assertion of Cæsar, as thus stated, is confirmed or impugned by the testimony of other authors, or by facts which the discoveries of modern times are daily bringing to light. Tacitus, nearly a century later, asserts that Britain produced gold, silver, and other metals: if this be true, and the passage from Cæsar as above quoted be correct, it would

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be reasonable to expect that gold and silver ornaments, and gold coins, would occasionally be discovered: it remains to examine how far this is the fact. In the British Museum, is the greater part of a gold corslet, found in a tumulus near Mold in Flintshire, a druidical gorget, a variety of armlets, rings, and other ornaments, and a gold torques found in Brecon. Armlets of a construction similar to the torques, and found near Egerton Hall in Cheshire, are now in the possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart.; there are also several others, both in public and private collections, which it is unnecessary to particularize, but enough to establish the fact that gold and silver were manufactured in this island at an early period: and the workmanship is of that character, as to leave little doubt of their having been executed at least as early as the times of Julius Cæsar. Of the iron rings mentioned by Cæsar, none have been found, or at least recognized as such; nor is there perhaps much reason to be surprised,—iron suffers so much from decomposition, that all trace of any stamp, if the rings ever had any, would be quite obliterated; the original forms would probably be rude; and should such objects ever have been actually found, they would be at once thrown away as worthless, like decayed links of an old chain. They were probably too unwieldy to be easily carried about, and accidentally lost, and not well adapted for secret treasures, when coins of the precious metals afforded a more convenient object for that purpose.

The difficulty with regard to brass money is not so easily overcome; if such really existed, it is almost impossible but that some should have been found; yet the evidence of such having been actually discovered is very slight. The coins which are represented in Ruding, pl. 3, 4, fig. 55 to 72, are considered British, and may possibly have been in existence

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in the time of Cæsar; but they are of tin mixed perhaps with some copper, and can scarcely be the sort of coin alluded to by him. It must also be acknowledged that they have not that character of form, type, and workmanship, which can claim a ready assent to their being contemporary with him; though it is almost as difficult to assign them decisively to any other specific period. It may be necessary to remark upon a few coins of brass published by Ruding, pl. 3, fig. 49—54. Of these, fig. 49 and 50 exactly resemble some in the British Museum, all of which have come from Jersey, and must therefore be considered as belonging to that island. It would be unsafe to speak confidently about fig. 51 without seeing it: but if the cross be intended for the Christian symbol, it must be of a later date than the coins now looked for: 53 is evidently of the same class as the gold ones, pl. 2, fig. 22—30, whose British origin we should hesitate to admit, because we have no certain evidence of the disinterment of any in Britain, if we except those like fig. 46, 47, 48, which were found at Mount Batten, near Plymouth, in 1832; and which so much resemble those which are considered to belong to Jersey, that it may be doubted whether they were not brought thence by some traders. Fig. 52 is certainly British; fig. 54 is possibly such, and of the period in question: so that as far as they go, they may be admitted evidence of the truth of Cæsar's assertion, that the British had, in his days, a brass money.

It may be asked, and it has been frequently asked, what grounds there are for believing, that the gold and silver coins usually attributed to Britain were actually struck and circulated in this island, or that they were contemporary with Julius Cæsar. That they were struck and circulated in Britain is put beyond doubt, from the circumstance of

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their being frequently dug up within this island; and though coins of a somewhat similar description are found in Gaul, yet do the types, or rather perhaps the treatment of the types, so differ, that there cannot be any doubt that the Gaulish and British discoveries belong originally to different sides of the Channel. A single coin, or a few coins, may be carried about and dropped anywhere; but when a number of coins of a similar description are found almost exclusively in any one district, it may fairly be concluded, that that district is the locality to which they originally belonged. A little consideration of the subject will perhaps prove equally satisfactory with regard to the age of these coins. Upon a very first view of them, it will be evident that they are not Roman, nor formed after a Roman model. The immense quantities of Roman coin discovered every year in almost every part of the kingdom, prove that, at least during the greater part of the Roman dominion in Britain, Roman coins were the circulating medium of the country. Immediately after the departure of the Romans, the Saxons sprung up, and with them a description of coin totally differing in every respect from those which we call British. As, then, these coins are neither Roman nor Saxon, there is no other period to which they can be assigned than one anterior to the perfect establishment of the Roman power in Britain.

As these coins are clearly not of Roman nor Saxon origin, and are formed upon a totally different model and fabric, it becomes necessary to inquire what may have been their probable origin. It is quite clear from the type, form, and fabric of these coins, that by some means or other they claim their parentage from Greece. If a Roman coin be placed upon a table, it will be seen that the field on both sides is parallel with the plane of the

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table; but place a Greek or a British coin on the table, and it will immediately be seen that one side is convex, and the other concave. The type is also of a Grecian character, being a horseman or a chariot, with sometimes a victory hovering over the charioteer. These are sometimes exceedingly rude in execution, the very best of them much inferior to real Grecian coins; and the costume and accompaniments are modified according to the usages of the country where the coins were intended to circulate. They are rude imitations of Grecian coins, the likeness being exceedingly imperfect, as they were probably executed by ill instructed artists, not from coins before them, but from the recollection of what they had once seen, or had been described to them.

So little is known of the early history of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, that there are not any means of ascertaining exactly when or how the arts of Greece, however imperfectly imitated, found their way into Britain. The Gauls, we know, had frequent intercourse, both commercial and military, with parts of Greece; and it is impossible to doubt that the Gauls and Britons would, not unfrequently, paddle across the Channel to the opposite shore, which was actually within their sight, long before Cæsar made his formal attack upon Britain. From this intercourse would be derived the knowledge of continental money; and hence would naturally arise the desire to make a money of their own after the continental form.

Upon many of these coins there are not the slightest traces of letters; upon others letters are clearly legible, and these letters are Roman. Many of those which are without letters may have been in circulation long before the invasion of Julius Cæsar; and so indeed may some of those with letters, as the knowledge of the Roman charac-

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ters may have been acquired during the peaceful intercourse between the opposite shores; and the Britons may have adopted the Roman letters, though they retained the Grecian form and fabric of the coins. It would not be until some time after the Roman power was established generally over the island, that their money would supersede that of the native inhabitants. Accordingly there are in Britain comparatively few of the coins of the earlier Roman Emperors, while on the coins of Cunobeline, who was contemporary with Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, we have the proof of a coinage differing in all its principles from the Roman model, and accommodated to that of Greece; the types indeed bearing a resemblance to those of Augustus, which were themselves imitations of those of Greece.

It has been suggested that the Britons derived a knowledge of money from the Phœnicians, who visited our shores for the purposes of trade, and the acquisition of tin; and the types of the British coins have been supposed to bear a rude resemblance to those of several districts of Magna Græcia. Now, if a variety of Grecian coins, sufficient to serve as models for native money, had been imported, it is probable that not a few such would be found in the county of Cornwall, which is supposed to have been the chief seat of foreign traffic, and that the British imitations would be found there more frequently than elsewhere. Neither of these circumstances seems to be the fact. I am not aware of Grecian coins having been discovered in Cornwall, or of British being disinterred in the south-western districts more frequently than in any other. I am rather disposed to think, that the gold coins considered to be British are most usually found in the southern parts of the island, or those which were most easily

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accessible from the opposite shores of Gaul. The British types seem to be taken principally from those of Philip of Macedon, barbarous imitations of which abounded in Europe. The resemblances to the original would be more or less correct according to circumstances; being affected by distance of time and place, the greater or less degree of skill of the artists employed, the wish to modify the original type, and accommodate it to the tastes or feelings of the people for whose use it was made. The imitation, too, appears to have depended upon memory; for though there is a general resemblance to the original type, it is evidently not executed with the ancient coin before the eye of the artist. The coin is clearly not a coarse copy of a fine original; but is itself the original work of an artist, who retains no more than a very general idea of the device he is to execute. From tradition he learns that he is to put a head on one side, and a chariot or a horseman on the other; and as he has no skill, he executes the device according to his want of power, aided a little by the less rude imitation of his predecessors; each succeeding coinage being worse than the other, till the more frequent intercourse with the Romans improved the skill of the native artists; for it will be observed, that the rudest coins are entirely without any letters; and that the introduction of Roman letters upon the coins is co-incident with the improvement of the workmanship, till it attained its highest perfection under Cunobeline; immediately after which I imagine the genuine British coinage to have ceased, and to have been superseded by that of Rome.

To sum up the whole matter, I am disposed to think that the British coins were executed in Britain by native artists, with greater or less skill, according to a variety of circumstances, after Macedonian originals, the knowledge

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of which was obtained from barbarous imitations derived from Gaul; that all advancement in skill and workmanship was derived from the Romans, increasing with the increase of intercourse, till the establishment of the invader's power put an end to the independence of Britain. I am firmly persuaded, that a metallic currency of struck money existed in Britain before the days of Julius Cæsar; and I feel equally confident that, in the memorable passage so often quoted and so much corrupted, especially by later editors, he has actually asserted that fact. Modern discoveries are better than conjectural emendations: they prove that Britain had coins not derived from Rome; and that Cæsar, correctly read, asserts the truth, when he says that the Britons used money of copper and of gold.

IV.

THE COINAGE OF MODERN GREECE.

By L. H. J. Tonna, Esq.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 26, 1838.]

In case the Numismatic Society should not be in possession of specimens of the coinage of modern Greece, I beg to forward two copper coins of King Otho; I regret that I have not a complete set of them. I only brought one set with me, which I placed in the cabinet of this institution, together with two specimens of the coinage of Capodistrias which are now becoming rare.

The first coins, struck in regenerate Greece, were the Phœnix money in 1828, when Count John Capodistrias

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assumed the government of the country, under the title of president of the Greek state. His money bore on the one side a phœnix rising from flames, surmounted by a Christian cross, and rays of light issuing from a cloud,—legend Ελληνικη Πολιτεια; and on the other, the name and value of the coin, with the legend Κυϵερνητης Ι. Α. Καποδιστριας. His money consisted of—

Copper.

The lepton—value about $\frac{1}{12}$ of a penny.
Five lepta-piece.
Ten lepta-piece.

Silver.

The phœnix = 100 lepta, or about 8¼d. English. The lepton thus took the place of the old Turkish *parà*, or small tin coin.

The phœnix was adopted as the national device, and was borne on the national seals, uniform buttons, &c. and embroidered on the φέσι, or red skull cap, of all who held official situations; it was not, however, inserted in the national flag, which remained unaltered:—five blue horizontal stripes on a white ground, and the *jack* in the corner, a white cross on a blue ground. The jack was used on the land-fortresses, bowsprits of ships of war, and in all situations where we employ the union-jack. After the assassination of Capodistrias, at the foot of the altar of the church of San Spiridion at Nauplia, a provisional government was appointed, consisting of five commissioners, to preside at the helm of the infant state, until the arrival of their youthful monarch. The authority of this government did not, however, extend beyond the range of the guns of the few fortresses which were in their actual possession: the rest of the country was given up to anarchy and plunder. Whilst

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I was at Patras in 1832, Kitzo Tzavellas (son of the heroic and patriotic John Tzavellas) took possession of the castle of that town at the head of about 800 Suliotes, imprisoned the governor, and assumed the government of the neighbouring country, under the pompous title of Governor-in-chief of Achaia, and lord of Patras, Rhium and Antirrhium, the two fortresses which command the narrow entrance to the gulf of Corinth. He inserted the phœnix in the centre of the cross of the national flag; and from that time the phœnix became a revolutionary emblem,—the slothful and impotent provisional government having adopted the more appropriate symbol of the owl—appropriate to the sluggishness, not the wisdom, of these sage *quinquevirs*. At the time of the assassination of the president Capodistrias, the brave Kanaris, who, in his brulotes or small fire brigs, had been the midnight dread of Turkish fleets, and had blown up two *capudân pachàs*, in their three-decked ships, was in command of a twenty gun corvette. He immediately took his ship to *Poros*, where the national mint had been established, landed a few of his brass guns, caused them to be coined into money; and having paid his crew all their long arrears of wages, he quietly returned to his native island of Ipsara, and died there shortly afterwards, broken-hearted, at seeing the wretched state to which his unhappy country had been reduced. He was a truly patriotic and good man, and never entered into the disgraceful intrigues which sullied the other leaders of the Greek revolution. It was he who fired the train which blew up the ship of the atrocious Alì, the *capudân pachà* who conceived and executed the fearful massacre of Scio, laden with the spoil of that now desolate island. These coins, struck by Kanaris, were, I believe, the last of the Phœnix money.

The coinage of King Otho consists of the following :—

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Silver.

The drachm—same size and value as the phœnix of Capodistrias. viz. $8\frac{1}{4}$d.

The $\frac{1}{2}$ drachm, and $\frac{1}{4}$ drachm.

Also pieces of 2 drachms, and pieces of 6 drachms.

The piece of six drachms was adopted instead of one of five drachms, which would have rendered the coinage more uniform, in order to assimilate this their largest silver coin, to the Spanish, Austrian, and Sicilian dollars.

Copper.

Pieces of 1 lepton.
" of 5 lepta.
" of 10 lepta.

The silver coins bear the head of Otho—ΩΘΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ · ΤΗΣ · ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ, and on the reverse, on an escutcheon azure, a cross couped argent, pierced with the chequer board of Bavaria, (barry bendy azure and argent). The whole surmounted by a six arched crown, with globe and cross, and branches of laurel, as supporters; underneath the date and name of the coin as 1 · ΔΡΑΧΜΗ—$\frac{1}{2}$ · ΔΡΑΧΜΗ &c. &c.

The copper coins, bear on one side the shield and crown, as above, with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ · ΤΗΣ · ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ, and on the other, the name of the coin in a wreath.

King Otho's money was all struck in Bavaria. I regret that I am unable to give any information respecting the purity of the metal, alloy, &c.

Lewis H. J. Tonna.

United Service Museum, March 29, 1838.

N. B. The national flag now used, has the shield of Bavaria surmounted by a crown in the centre of the white cross.

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V.

AN ACCOUNT OF GOLD COINS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I. DISCOVERED AT SOUTHEND.

By James Dodsley Cuff, Esq. F.S.A.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 26, 1828.]

In the seventh number of the Numismatic Journal published in January last, I observe an account headed, "Treasure discovered at Southend," which states "that a "few days since, a jury was impanelled before Mr. "Carttar, the coroner for West Kent, to inquire into the "circumstances under which a number of gold coins were "found hidden in the ground in that neighbourhood. "Mr. Maule the Treasury solicitor attended on behalf of "the crown. The jury, having inspected the coins, four "hundred and twenty in number, the coroner proceeded "to expound to the jury the Queen's right under the law of "Treasure trove to property discovered under similar cir-"cumstances to the present. The jury then returned a "verdict of Treasure trove, and the coin was seized by "the coroner in the name of the Queen."

In a very short time after the above verdict was pronounced, Mr. Carttar delivered over the whole of the coins to the before-mentioned Mr. Maule, and here unfortunately we lose all further identity of the pieces.

As the British Museum is now very generally known to possess an extensive and valuable collection of coins of all countries, and more especially of those relating to our own country, and receives an annual grant from Parliament for the purpose of improving and increasing the same, I con-

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cluded that these four hundred and twenty gold coins would, as a matter of course, have all been sent to that establishment.

It is possible and very likely, if this find had been submitted to the examination of the officers of the Museum, some pieces might have been selected of such curiosity and rarity, as would have been an acquisition to the national cabinet, and without any cost to the country, which in these days of rigid economy must not be considered unimportant. Besides, all persons who take any interest in these matters would then have known what the trove really contained.

I have learned, upon enquiring at the Museum, that a few of the pieces only had been sent there, and those not selected by any persons at all learned in Numismatics, and that the others had all been consigned to the crucible.

Considering, therefore, that all further investigation is destroyed, and that a little information is better than none, I shall proceed to lay before the Society, without any apology, the following meagre account; only expressing my regret that the time did not allow of the examination of the reverses.

We have seen that the coins were four hundred and twenty in number, and that they were all of the same denomination, that is, pieces of twenty shillings. Of this number, one hundred and thirty-six were the last coinage of James I. with his bust laureated; these offer no interest, save that of its being the first instance of our monarchs having their brows ornamented with the laurel wreath.

The remaining two hundred and eighty-four were coins of Charles of three different coinages, as regards the bust, with various Mint marks.

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First Coinage, Forty-seven coins.

With the Ruff and Collar, M. M. Fleur de lis.

Second Coinage, One hundred and nineteen coins.

The ruff without the collar, and the king in armour. Of these there were nine different M. M's.

1st.	M. M.	Helmet	7	Coins
2nd.	M. M.	Long cross	11	do.
3rd.	M. M.	Castle	19	do.
4th.	M. M.	Anchor.	16	do.
5th.	M. M.	Heart	27	do.
6th.	M. M.	Feathers (3 varieties)	25	do.
7th.	M. M.	Full blown rose	12	do.
8th.	M. M.	*Obv.* Anchor in the middle of the legend	1	do.
		Rev. Anchor		
9th.	M. M.	*Obv.* (none)	1	do.
		Rev. Rose		

The last two not mentioned in Snelling.

Third Coinage, One hundred and eight coins.

Falling band. Fifteen different M. M.

1st.	M. M.	Harp	7	do.
2nd.	M. M.	Portcullis	8	do.
3rd.	M. M.	Bell	7	do.
4th.	M. M.	Crown	11	do.
5th.	M. M.	Ton	5	do.
6th.	M. M.	Anchor	6	do.
7th.	M. M.	Triangle	3	do.
8th.	M. M.	Star of Six points	7	do.
9th.	M. M.	Triangle within a circle	31	do.
10th.	M. M.	P. within two semicircles . . .	14	do.
11th.	M. M.	R. within two semi-circles . . .	2	do.

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12th. M. M. Eye . . . . . 2 do.
13th. M. M. Sun . . . . . 3 do.
14th. M. M. Full blown rose . . . . . 1 do.
15th. M. M. *Obv.* Triangle within two semi-circles . . . . . 1 do.
Rev. P. within two semi-circles.

The last two not mentioned in Snelling.

Not finding any coin with the sceptre M. M., it is probable these coins were buried in the year 1646. The sceptre being continued from this date to the end of his reign.

VI.

A VIEW OF THE SILVER COIN AND COINAGE OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE YEAR 1662 TO 1837, &c. BY GEORGE MARSHALL.[1]

In the preface to this work, the author complains very justly of the deficiency which existed, and had long been felt by collectors of our milled silver coins, of any publication containing satisfactory information as to their varieties and dates. That deficiency he has ably supplied; having entered upon the undertaking with much experience, and completed it with carefulness and fidelity. His plan is perfectly simple, which, next to fulness and accuracy in the details, is the greatest merit of works of this description, as facility of reference is of essential importance.

The first part consists of historical and descriptive observations on the milled coinage in general, from the reign of

[1] London: John Hearne, 81, Strand.

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Charles II. to the end of that of William IV. Under each denomination of coin, an account is given of the obverses and reverses, dates and varieties, particular inscriptions, together with remarks on important points, classifications as to rarity, and the amount coined during the respective reigns.

The second part, forming the bulk of the volume, contains an elaborate catalogue of all the coins with which the author is acquainted, arranged with perspicuity according to size, and in chronological order, each type being briefly but sufficiently specified. It is possible there may be some omissions, and, indeed, Mr. Marshall appears to be aware of this with respect to the Scotch milled coins; but we approve of his judgment in not noticing any varieties of type "but such as he knew to be correct, as by copying printed catalogues, he might only be perpetuating errors, and misleading his readers."

To the antiquarian collector, for whom the hammered money of our earlier sovereigns has a particular charm, the present publication may be deficient in interest; but many others will find it extremely useful, and all our numismatists will acknowledge it to form a valuable appendage to previous works on the national coinage.

Mr. M. gives us the following succinct account of the employment of the mill and screw, the introduction of which into our mint may be considered the commencement of the line of demarcation between ancient and modern English coins.

"The method of coining by the mill and screw was not admitted into our mint before the year 1564, when it was used, together with the old method of coining with the hammer, until the latter was wholly laid aside in the fourteenth year of Charles II. A. D. 1662.

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"From that time only very trivial improvements had been made, until the powerful machinery invented by Messrs. Boulton and Watt was applied to the purposes of coining, and was introduced into the royal mint previous to the great re-coinage in the year 1816.

"The machinery for coining, with the mill and screw, was very simple, and consisted of a screw, to which an upper die was connected; this was worked by a fly, which forced that die, which was attached to it, with considerable effect upon the other die, which was firmly fixed below.

"The advantages of this machine over the old mode of striking with a hammer, consisted chiefly in the increase of force, which was so great as to raise the impression at one blow, by which a great waste of time and labour was prevented. Its radical defect was, that it was put in motion by the exertion of human strength; and as this would frequently vary in its application, there could be no certainty of uniformity of appearance in the coins.

"This defect is now completely obviated by the use of the steam engine, which, being at all times of an equal force, produces that uniformity of appearance which is so obvious in the coins struck at our mint since it has been introduced there."

We fully agree with Mr. M., that the omission of the royal arms on the shillings and sixpences of William IV. "cannot be considered an improvement, as they look more like tokens than coins." And as it seems we are not allowed to have historical devices on the coinage (though for what good reason we cannot say), the usual armorial shield is surely preferable to the supererogatory information, that a certain piece of money which we have always well known, is of the value of "ONE SHILLING." In fact, it is a stupid imitation of the French in their franc pieces since the Revolution, which are properly enough marked with the numerical values, because at that period they altered their mode of reckoning money, and adopted the decimal

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system, which made important changes in the forms and weights of the currency.

Our author might have enlarged his enumeration of the pattern pieces struck at various periods; but considering how widely they must be dispersed among private cabinets, and how difficult it must be for an individual, however zealously disposed, to obtain access to, or correct information of, rarities under such circumstances, we cannot wonder at this partial defect; nor, indeed, can we estimate a pattern, curious as it may be, in any thing like the same degree that we do a coin which has formed a part of the legitimate currency of the nation.

VII.

ON A MODE OF ASCERTAINING THE PLACES TO WHICH ANCIENT BRITISH COINS BELONG.

It will be readily conceded, that in no branch of numismatic study has the advancement of our knowledge been more slow, than in that which relates to the well known coins which are usually, and I think properly, attributed to the Ancient Britons.

From the time of Camden (in whose Britannia the earliest notice of these coins is perhaps to be found), down to the period of the publication of Ruding's learned and elaborate Annals, so much diversity of opinion seems to have prevailed among numismatists concerning them, that we not only find preliminary questions left in doubt, but not even a foundation laid for their study.[1]

[1] Article XXVII in the first volume of the Numismatic Journal, affords, however, an agreeable proof that British coins

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It is much to be regretted, that by far the greater portion of these coins are without inscriptions; and so ignorant are we of the places to which these uninscribed classes belong, that it is still considered by some, a matter of great doubt whether they are to be looked upon as British or Gaulish money.

The great difficulties, however, which oppose themselves, even to a preliminary study of these primitive and interesting coins, offer, in some respects, sufficient apology for this gloomy and unsatisfactory picture of the present state of our knowledge on the subject: we must not therefore omit distinctly to state, that it has not been drawn to discourage, but, on the contrary, to stimulate inquiry; our object being to endeavour to show the possibility of establishing, not only a tolerably correct geographical classification of ancient British coins by the discovery of the localities where they were current, but also, even the possibility of ultimately finding out at which towns they were most probably struck. At all events, to point out a ready mode of certainly distinguishing the coins of Britain from those of Gaul.

There appears also reason to believe, that whenever these data are firmly fixed, it may be possible to ground upon them many important elucidations and explanations of the types, notwithstanding that at first sight so many appear to be merely barbarous and imitative. Whether the uninscribed British coins are to be considered as regal or civic, is a question which must probably remain for ever

are not quite neglected. The views and observations of the writer of that article, as to the existence of British coins, and on the importance of remarking where they are found, are conceived in the right spirit, and it may be hoped will be followed up hereafter.

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uncertain; but judging of the uninscribed coins, by those which have inscriptions—probably the true way of judging—they appear to be the money of petty princes or chieftains, struck in the principal town of their dominions, as the coins of Cunobeline were struck at Camulodanum. Partaking therefore of the double nature of regal and civic coins, a geographical classification of them will be the nearest possible approximation to the truth.

The interest which naturally attaches itself to the correct classification of uncertain coins, ought to be heightened in us by national feeling for those *found in our own country;* and it must be confessed to be high time that we should begin to furnish our successors with *gradually accumulating data concerning the finding of these coins,* so that in time they may arrive at some satisfactory conclusions as to the places to which they belong.

It is true that considerable industry, zeal, and learning have not been wanting in our predecessors, in collecting, engraving, and illustrating ancient British Coins, in the way which was thought the most useful; but it unfortunately appears that they have too often omitted to notice *the only circumstance* likely to lead to the discovery of the places to which the uninscribed coins belong; the few accounts of the finding of particular coins having been given incidentally, and never continued with any degree of order or method.

At first sight it no doubt appears to be quite unimportant to know where a coin was found; and it does not occur to the mind as possible, by any means, to discover the place where an uninscribed coin of remote antiquity was current, and probably struck. Even to ascertain merely the country to which such a coin belongs, may perhaps appear to be an almost equally hopeless attempt. Numismatic experience,

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however, proves that we possess the means of attaining that knowledge; and however paradoxical the statement may appear, nothing is more certain than that the unknown place to which an uninscribed coin belongs, although apparently lost for ever in the darkness of by-gone ages, is yet discoverable by the very easy method already hinted at. *This consists simply, in observing at what place or places the coin is from time to time dug up.*

As this assertion may be new to some who may be reasonably presumed to be sceptical on this curious point, I will first venture to state the result of my individual experience of its truth, and afterwards bring forward, as briefly as possible, some of the evidence afforded by others.

Having had occasion to observe, during a residence of above six years at Smyrna, that I was much assisted in the classification of Greek coins, by knowing from what part of the country they had been brought, I acquired a habit of uniformly paying great attention to that circumstance. I was soon led to remark that, in a great variety of instances, many of the coins proved to belong to the places, or the neighbourhood of the places, at which they had been purchased of the peasants; and finally pursuing the hint thus obtained, by applying it to an approximate classification of coins of dubious attribution, I discovered by degrees, that when I could positively and *repeatedly* trace the finding of an uninscribed or uncertain coin to any given place, my subsequent observations invariably proved the coin to belong to that place, by the discovery of other coins which had inscriptions, or unequivocal resemblance in type, to coins which were well known.

These observations were not confined to my residence at Smyrna; for during the period of six years, already alluded

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to, I visited Constantinople and its neighbourhood, and some parts of Bithynia and Mysia, the Troad and its neighbourhood, Thyatira, Sardis, Ephesus, Teos, Clazomene, Phocæa, Chios, Tenos, Syrus, Andrus, Ægina, Epidaurus, Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, and Athens. On a subsequent voyage from Smyrna to Athens, I visited Thebes, Tanagra, and other towns in Bœotia; and on my last voyage to Athens passed again through Corinth to Patras,—thence to Zante, Cephalonia, and Ithaca; to Sicily, where I visited Messina, Catania, and Syracuse; and finally Naples, Rome, and Florence.

At all these places (and many more) I collected coins; and during the whole of these journies I made observations on the collections of others (travellers as well as residents), and as a general result, I can safely testify that the finding, in each place, of the coins of that place, was fully proved by my personal observation, and seems to indicate that the circulation of the coinage of the ancients was, on the whole, very limited and local.[2]

It is most true, however, that there is nothing to prevent

[2] I make this as a general remark. The exceptions which might be offered to it are very few, and do not bear against my general position. I will mention the two greatest exceptions that have occurred to my own experience and observation. The first is the well-known silver didrachms of Corinth, and her numerous colonies in Epirus, Acarnania, &c. (*Obverse*, Helmet Head of Minerva.—*Reverse*, Pegasus.) These are found in such quantities in Sicily, that some peculiar event, in politics or commerce, must have occasioned the flow of these coins to that country; such as the annual payment of a tax to Syracuse, or perhaps a trade to Sicily for corn. The second example is the well-known gold coins of Cyzicus (Κυζικηνοι), which are very frequently found all over the Crimea, more so there than any where else, and probably owing also to a trade to that country for corn. At Cyzicus itself the place is now so deserted, and the coins naturally so rare, that they are no doubt very seldom found.

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coins, from having been struck in one city, or country, and lost in another; and undoubtedly, nothing seems so likely to have happened—nay, our experience constantly shows us that it did happen—with the ancients as with ourselves, that coins were often lost very far from the places to which they belonged. This admission, nevertheless, if properly considered, does not militate against the fact which we wish to establish with regard to the finding of ancient coins; namely, that the *constant finding from time to time of any given coin, in a particular locality, will eventually prove that coin to belong to that locality.* It must be remarked that I lay great stress on *the constant finding, from time to time, at or near a given place;* and that this should be the fact, is, on reflection, a very natural conclusion; since coins must be found where they were lost, and would of course be far more abundantly lost where they were constantly current, than elsewhere. Hence, coins of Cunobeline are not found in France, or coins of Gaulish chieftains in England. I never saw in any cabinet or collection in Italy, Sicily, Greece, or Asia, any coins like those which we consider as ancient British coins.[3]

It may be here remarked, that the late most important and highly interesting discoveries of Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins,[4] in such quantities, would never have been made, had no traveller ever visited the very spots where those coins were struck; and it is well known that the few

[3] The only English coin which ever fell under my observation abroad, under circumstances indicative of its having been *dug up there*, was a penny of Henry III. pierced and sewed to the cap of a Greek boy at Thebes, in Bœotia, among numerous ancient coins, the examination of which led me to discover it. It was probably lost at Thebes during some expedition to the Holy Land.

[4] See a valuable notice on this subject by Professor Wilson, in the Numismatic Journal, Vol. II. Article XVIII.

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which we possessed previous to these discoveries, were always procured from those who had made overland journies from India to this country, and who had collected them during their passage through the ancient Bactrian territory.

In fact, the traveller who inquires for ancient coins in any country which he may visit, will remark, that, with the ancient money, as with the modern, he will find in each country the money of that country, and in each town the money of that town. In Greece and Asia, according to my own observations, the usual circulation of the ancient coins of the different cities of those countries appears to have been so local and confined, that I found a visit to the site of any ancient city almost sure to be rewarded by the acquisition of some of its coins; and it is a still more curious fact that, the constant finding of the known coins of a city at a particular spot, may actually assist the geographer in determining the unknown position of the city itself, as will be shown presently.

Pellerin, one of the greatest coin collectors and practical numismatists who ever lived, proves to us throughout all his voluminous works, how often he was guided in classing coins by knowing where they were found. His official situation[5] had no doubt early taught him to observe that ancient coins generally belonged to the locality from which they were brought to him.

It is evident from the instructions written by the celebrated Abbé Barthélemy[6] for M. Houel's use, while in Italy and Sicily, about the year 1777, that the learned

[5] The reader need not be reminded that Pellerin occupied a high official situation in the administration of the French navy.

[6] These instructions are preserved in the "Œuvres Diverses de J. J. Barthélemy." Paris: 2 vols. 8vo. 1823.

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Abbé was completely aware of the importance of knowing where coins of dubious attribution are dug up.[7] Some parts of these instructions are so much in point, that I cannot avoid quoting verbatim. Speaking of coins with Phœnician inscriptions, which are found between Palermo and Agrigentum, and which interested him very much, he says,[8] "Si le hazard vous en faisait tomber entre les mains, je vous prie de les prendre, en vous informant de l'endroit où elles ont été trouvées." Again, speaking of the supposed site of Motya, where, according to Thucidydes, the Phœnicians built a town, he says,[9] "Il faudrait savoir si l'on y trouve des médailles Phéniciennes, et de quelle espèce?" Speaking of certain Punic coins often found at Malta, he begs M. Houel to purchase some, and adds,[10] "Demandez si c'est à Malte, ou à Gozzo, qu'on les trouve." In another place, after expressing his expectations that coins of the Locri Epizephyrii will be found in the neighbourhood of Gierani, between Rhegium and Tarentum, he adds,[11] "Il serait important de savoir si on trouve dans le même canton, des médailles de même métal et de même grandeur; qui, avec, ou sans, le nom des Locriens, représentent d'un côté la tête de Minerve, et de l'autre un cheval aîlé." Immediately after,[12] he evidently hints at the discovery of coins of Caulonia, in the neighbourhood of

[7] Those who will take the trouble to read through the instructions just referred to, will find that the Abbé Barthélemy directs the traveller to expect, at each town, to find some specimens of its ancient coinage, and specifies particularly that coins of the Lucanians and Bruttii will be found in traversing the country between Naples and Rhegium, at which place, as well as at Segesta, Selinus, Syracuse, Sybaris, Thurium, Siris, Heraclea, Metapontum, and Tarentum, coins of each place are found respectively.

[8] Ibid. p. 243.

[9] Ibid. p. 244.

[10] Ibid. p. 247.

[11] Ibid. p. 249.

[12] Ibid. p. 250.

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Squillaci, as deciding the situation of the site of that city against the authority of Danville. And in the same page,[13] speaking of the Lacinian promontory, on which stood the city of Crotona, he adds, "Dans le même endroit doivent se trouver des médailles de Crotone." Lastly, he says,[14] "Entre Otrante et Brindes, au village de Martanna, suivant Riedezel (*Voyage en Sicile*, p. 219), on trouve quantité de médailles. Si elles sont Grecques, je vous prie d'en acquérir et de bien marquer l'endroit ou elles ont été trouvées." The learned writer of these instructions obviously expected by the coins to discover and fix the site of some ancient town situated at or near that village.

In the works of the numerous travellers who of late years have visited Greece, may be observed various incidental remarks tending to confirm the main point before us. It may suffice, however, to adduce a few passages from the classic and interesting pages of Dodwell.

At Castri (Delphi) out of eighty coins which he purchased, six were of Delphi,[15] although coins of this city are very rare. On the site of Orchomenus, in Bœotia, he purchased of a peasant two coins of that city,[16] and has engraved them in his work. In a subsequent page[17] he supplies us with an instance of the *inscribed* coins of a city, indicating its site. "Though many circumstances," says he, "lead us to suppose that these ruins are the remains of Thespia, no positive proof of it has yet occurred, nor has any inscription been discovered on the spot in which the name of the city is mentioned. A small village, called Leuka, is seen in the vicinity; the inhabitants of which, in

[13] Barthélemy. [14] Ibid. p. 253.
[15] Dodwell's Travels in Greece, vol. i. p. 191.
[16] Ibid. p. 232. [17] Ibid. p. 255.

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tilling the ground, find a great many small copper coins of Thespia.[18] I bought several of them."

Shortly after[19] he gives woodcuts of seven silver coins which he purchased at Thebes, five of which are of Thebes, and the other two of Bœotian cities. We are also told of several Æginetan coins which he found at Ægina;[20] and when at Pharsalia he says, "We were offered some ancient coins of Pharsalia."[21] At Methana, in like manner he remarks, "We were fortunate in procuring, at this place, some autonomous coins of Methana, which had never been known to exist;"[22] of these he gives two wood engravings. Presently we find him at Megalopolis, observing, "We purchased from the villagers a considerable number of Arcadian coins, some of which were rare and well preserved. Those of Megalopolis," he adds, "are common,"[23] and proceeds to describe them: The coins of Stymphalus are very rare; but at Stymphalus, Dodwell bought a small one of that city.[24] It will be felt, that the preceding incidental observations, selected from the pages of an intelligent traveller, were elicited from him, as it were, undesignedly; and it can scarcely be doubted, had he travelled more directly with a numismatic object, that his remarks in confirmation of my general position would have been far more frequent, and occasionally even more conclusive.

Not to add unnecessarily to the preceding testimony, I will only adduce further the experience of the Abbate Ses-

[18] The coins alluded to are inscribed ΘΕΣΠΙΕΩΝ. See Pellerin, *Peuples et Villes*, vol. i. plate xxv. No. 24.
[19] Dodwell's Travels in Greece, vol. i. p. 274.
[20] Ibid. p. 573—4. [21] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 121.
[22] Ibid. p. 283. [23] Ibid. p. 375. [24] Ibid. p. 435.

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tini,[25] the well known author of so many numismatic works, and that of M. Cousinery,[26] formerly French consul at Salonica. Both were celebrated numismatists, and highly competent judges of this matter, from their long practical experience in collecting coins in Greece and Asia. During frequent conversations which I had with them on the subject of the finding of coins, I learned with pleasure that they had long before made the same observations as myself. Indeed, the first four volumes of Sestini's "*Lettere e Dissertazioni Numismatiche*," &c., are mainly devoted to the correction of several old established erroneous attributions, which his observations during the very journies above mentioned, had enabled him to detect. "*Le provegnenze! Le provegnenze!*" uttered with a loud voice, and emphatic manner, was the accustomed exclamation of this zealous numismatist, in familiar conversation, when the classification of uncertain coins chanced to be the subject of discussion. He *coined* a word which does not unhappily express his idea, but which, without periphrasis, cannot be rendered in

[25] A short biographical notice of the Abbate Sestini, is to be found in the Numismatic Journal (Vol. II. p. 100), where mention is made of his journies in Asia Minor, &c., in consequence of his having been employed by the British ambassador at Constantinople, to collect coins. The greater part of these coins passed afterwards into the rich cabinets of Lord Northwick, and the late R. P. Knight, Esq.

[26] Notwithstanding that M. Cousinery spent all the leisure of a long life in forming several valuable collections of Greek coins, and was a most experienced and skilful practical numismatist, he published but little. Some essays in the "Journal Encylopédique" for 1807, 8, and 10, and his "Essai sur les Monnaies d'Argent de la Ligue Achéenne" (4to. Paris, 1825), together with his Travels in Macedonia, published afterwards, constitute, as far as my memory serves me, the whole of his published works.

His first and largest collection of Greek coins was disposed of to his Majesty the present king of Bavaria, while Prince Royal, I believe about 25 or 30 years ago, and forms the basis of the valuable Royal Collection at Munich.

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English, or any modern language with which I am acquainted.

Recurring now to the practical application of these facts to the classification of ancient British, early Saxon, or any other coins of dubious attribution, it must be remarked, that the number of concurrent observations which will be required on most of the British coins, in consequence of their rarity and slow discovery, will offer peculiar difficulties.

No individual can be supposed to possess sufficiently extended means of making the requisite observations on the finding of any particular coin, with sufficient frequency to lead to any practical result. It is, therefore, necessary that the observations should not only be extended over the greatest possible area, but also should be continued for an indefinite period of time. This will require the prolonged cooperation of many; and, therefore, we may be said to require a series of recorded observations, informing us, henceforth, where every uninscribed ancient British or Saxon coin is found;[27] and it would add very much to the value of these observations, if they were to be extended to those coins also which have inscriptions; for we wish to be able to observe, whether the circumstances already so fully stated, with regard to the finding of Greek coins, hold good with those of our own country.

The notices or observations which are required, should be recorded in print,[28] and should specify the spot where the coins were dug up, with descriptions of such as can be described, and with wood-cuts of the uninscribed, done with

[27] I speak of single coins, rather than the discovery of hoards, although the latter are also highly interesting and important.

[28] This publication, being exclusively numismatic, offers peculiar advantages for the gradual accumulation of the observations required.

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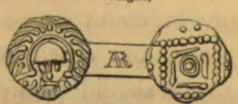
sufficient accuracy to enable us to recognize the types. The metal of which the coins are composed should be stated, and those of gold or silver should have the weights annexed in troy grains. It will be readily perceived that a series of observations, recorded as above recommended, will furnish progressively-accumulating evidence for proving *where and how often* each recurring coin has been found; and will enable us to observe whether they are mostly found in the counties on the coast, or in those more inland. We shall also see the extent of their range over the country, and whether any constant finding occurs in Ireland, in Scotland, or in Wales.

As example is better than precept, I now present the reader with a representation of the only uncertain coin which I ever found in England, under circumstances to warrant my offering it here as a practical illustration of the means I advocate, for discovering *at least* the locality in which uncertain coins were originally current: and till it can be shewn that the coins of our ancient British and Saxon ancestors were struck on the continent, and brought here for circulation, I make bold to conclude, that they were struck where they were current.

Weight,



12 grains.

This coin was picked up thirty years ago, at the foot of the cliffs which form the north coast of the Isle of Sheppey, near Minster, by a poor old woman who was employed in collecting the pyritous fossils which abound on that shore, and of whom I purchased it. The coin had no doubt fallen from the top of the cliff with the earth which is constantly

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crumbling down; and belongs to the class of coins called Sceattæ, which are usually attributed to the county of Kent—an attribution which the finding of this coin tends to confirm.

To proceed, however, in the further explanation of the practical use which I wish to make of the recorded observations which I require, let us imagine that I had recorded the finding of my coin by the preceding woodcut and statement, thirty years ago, when the coin was found; and that, subsequently, each of the sceattæ engraved in Ruding's Annals had been discovered and the finding recorded, and that the whole had been collected in that valuable work. Let us suppose, further, that by far the greater portion of those which approximate in type to mine *had been found singly*, and *at certain intervals of time*, also in the Isle of Sheppey. Should we not, by this time, begin to be convinced that the earliest sceattæ belong to the Isle of Sheppey; especially if we had taken occasion to ascertain, in the mean time, that the cabinets of our brother numismatists in France, Belgium, Holland, or Denmark, furnished no examples of similar coins? If, instead of the Isle of Sheppey, we should have had occasion to observe that the finding of these coins took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Canterbury,—should we not be led to conclude that they were to be referred to that place? And, as the inscriptions on the later sceattæ prove them to be Saxon coins, and regal rather than civic, should we not conclude that the earlier ones were also coins of Saxon kings? I should infer further, from the discovery of these coins (provided the earlier were uniformly found in the Isle of Sheppey, and the later at Canterbury), that the first footing gained by the Saxons was in the Isle of Sheppey; and that afterwards they established themselves at Canterbury:

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although it must be confessed, that any inference drawn from the finding of coins, beyond that of proving the places to which they belong, would require to be supported by the concurrent and undoubted testimony of so many accurate observations, and should be drawn with so much judgment and discrimination, that a long time must elapse before any such result can be hoped for.

To return, however, to the point before us; I proceed to remark that the finding of a sceatta of similar type in any other place or county, will not invalidate the attribution of these coins (under the circumstances already supposed) to the Isle of Sheppey or the city of Canterbury, except in a temporary manner; for if the coins really belong to either locality, the observations, if steadily persevered in for a sufficient length of time, will prove the finding of the coins (however slowly it may proceed) to be *constant* at the place to which they really belong, and of most rare and solitary occurrence elsewhere. Whether the coins be found often or seldom, will, of course, mainly depend on their abundance or rarity; for experience shows that some coins remain unique for a century or more; and consequently, on such coins, hardly one observation in a lifetime could be made.

Even under the most favourable circumstances, the lifetime of an individual affords but little scope for any practical results in classing, by these means, uncertain coins of rare occurrence. Hence mainly arises the cause of the ignorance in which we now find ourselves involved, with respect to ancient British coins; and hence my motive for stating in the beginning of this paper, that it is high time we should, at least, *begin* to furnish data for our successors in these pursuits.

Whatever may be the opinion of the reader, as to the

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possibility of discovering by the method proposed in the preceding pages *the precise localities* to which ancient coins belong, it is presumed, that the most sceptical will scarcely hesitate to admit, that, by that method, at all events *the country* may be readily ascertained. It will be perceived, therefore, that mere comparison offers the ready means of distinguishing British from Gaulish coins, to which I alluded in the outset; for on an examination of the public collection of coins at Paris and that in the British Museum, it will appear, that certain primitive coins found in France, exhibit peculiarities of type and fabric not observable in those found in our own country, and *vice versâ*.

In conclusion, I must, however, beg to remark, that in expressing this opinion in favour of the possibility of establishing a geographical classification of uninscribed ancient British coins, I would not have it supposed that I mean to draw a strict comparison between uncertain ancient British coins and uncertain ancient Greek coins, or to assert that it is as easy, by the use of the means pointed out in this paper, to fix the geographical position of the former as of the latter. So far from this being the fact, it must be borne in mind, that with the Greeks, coinage was an original invention, which arose with the dawn of their commerce, at a period of considerable civilization, and kept pace with their gradual and truly remarkable advancement in the fine arts. We are consequently assisted in classing uninscribed Greek coins by many remarkable peculiarities in the style of work, as well as in the types themselves, for which there existed among the Greeks, as a people, an uniform and powerful *motive*.[29] The knowledge of all this,

[29] See a paper on this subject in the Numismatic Journal, Vol. I. Article XVIII.

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coupled with a knowledge of the finding, is of the utmost use and importance in the classification of primitive Greek coins. But with the coins of the ancient Britons, owing to their rude state, the case is so different, that it must be regarded as a dubious point, whether the representations on their money have any motive beyond that of *mere imitation*, or whether, when they adopted or established the art of coinage, they also adopted the system of connecting *peculiar and original notions with the representations which they put upon their money*. This is a question which I may perhaps discuss hereafter; but for the fulfilment of our present object it will suffice to add, that on account of the absence of any sufficient information concerning our semi-barbarous ancestors, and in the present state of our knowledge, in general, concerning their coins, we shall probably have nothing to rely upon to assist the classification, but *the mere finding*, aided perhaps a little by the weight, or by any peculiarity of fabric or type, of which future experience may enable us to avail ourselves. It is infinitely to be regretted, that in attempting to class ancient British coins, we shall never be able to perceive on them, as we do on the most early coins of Greece or Asia, the germ (as it were) of the later and more perfect coin, and be thereby enabled to recognize, however early the coin, that peculiarity of style and motive in the representation of a star or a tripod, which enables us to recognize a coin of Miletus or of Zacynthus, and to distinguish them from all other coins with stars or tripods; in like manner that the horse on coins of Erythræ, and the lion on coins of Cyzicus, are always recognizable and distinguishable from the horses and lions on all other coins.

These, and numberless similar powerful aids, which, in the classification of early Greek coins, serve at first as clues,

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and afterwards as most agreeable and convincing proofs of the correctness of our classification, must be totally wanting with the semi-barbarous early coins of our own country. Nevertheless, we repeat that we see no reason for doubting the efficiency of the means pointed out, in fulfilling, by degrees, the object proposed; and, in making the attempt, we shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing, that we have adopted *the only mode now left to us* of discovering the true places to which the uncertain coins of our own country belong.

THOMAS BURGON.

Brunswick Square,
June 20, 1838.

VIII.

PISTRUCCI'S INVENTION: A LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

FOR some months past the attention of the public has been directed towards Mr. Pistrucci of the Royal Mint, by a series of unmanly attacks—for I cannot dignify them by the title of controversial letters—which have appeared from time to time in the Morning Chronicle; a journal which, enjoying the reputation of being the chief organ of the (so called) "liberal" party in politics, has, with singular tact and discrimination, been selected as the appropriate channel for the publication of letters, equally impotent and illiberal, on a subject connected with the fine arts. The leading topic of those letters is a remarkably simple method of producing dies, discovered by Mr. Pistrucci; and their object seems to have been two-fold. The ostensible object was to depreciate Pistrucci's invention. The real

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object was to excite the odium of the public against its author.

Now I feel not a little disposed to consider the question in both its bearings—both as it regards the artist, and as it regards his work; persuaded that your pages, which have, I know not how advisedly, admitted harsh censures of Mr. Pistrucci's conduct, would also be the proper channel for his justification; but I leave to abler hands the task of refuting error and exposing ignorance. I shall confine myself to the ostensible object of the letters to which I have alluded; and, in so doing, I beg you will observe that I do not appear in the character of a controversialist; for as Pistrucci *has established* the practical utility of his invention; and its originality, after all that has been said, remains unimpeached, all *controversy* on the subject must be considered to be at an end.

Nor shall I offer any apology for thus troubling you with a few unprejudiced remarks on a subject which has elicited the expression of so much hostile feeling from so many; partly because you have shewn yourself interested in this question, by reprinting, among the miscellanea of your sixth number, a portion of the correspondence which had appeared on the subject in the journals of the day; and partly (which is my principal motive for addressing you), because I regard the invention itself as forming an era in numismatic art, and therefore of sufficient importance to be brought directly before numismatic readers.

I am unwilling to occupy much of your space; and have so long delayed fulfilling an intention long since formed (of requesting you to insert in your pages a description of the process alluded to), that want of leisure to be diffuse is now a cogent reason why I should be brief in my communication: but before describing Pistrucci's invention, and

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stating concisely in what its novelty consists, I think it best to take a hasty review of what has already been written on the subject. In doing this, I will "bestow as little of my tediousness upon you," as I am able.

The attention of the public was first called to this subject by an announcement which appeared in the Times of August the 15th, 1837. It succinctly, but accurately detailed the nature of Pistrucci's invention, and glanced at the advantages which would probably result to the public from it. This was speedily followed by an ill-mannered reply in the Morning Chronicle, signed "English," but to which a very different signature should have been attached, since the letter in question was very *un*-English, both in style and sentiment. It spoke of the announcement which had been very modestly put forth in the Times, as a "puff direct;" and the invention itself was styled "a mare's nest." The writer asks, "Can there be a living man weak enough to suppose that the Signor believes himself to be the discoverer, in the face of the following facts?" and he proceeds to offer some statements, either incorrect or inconclusive; and then follows the usual insinuation about "the Waterloo medal,"—"the Signor,"—"the salary,"—"the *sinecural snuggery*," &c.

Very temperate, indeed, was the reply, which this rude letter elicited from the pen of Mr. W. R. Hamilton, a gentleman too well known for his taste and learning, as well as for his readiness to countenance merit (more especially when unprotected), to require praise from me, and in this place. He merely exposed some inconsistencies which the preceding letter had contained, and signed his reply with his name; for which manly proceeding, "English" (who continued to conceal his own) informed the public shortly after, in the columns of the same journal, that, in his

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("English's") opinion, Mr. Hamilton had shewn "more zeal than discretion:" and he repeated the assertions contained in his former letter; adding a little more abuse of Pistrucci, of which (as might have been expected) Pistrucci's apologist came in for a share.

The announcement in the Times, above alluded to, was transferred to the columns of many of the leading journals and periodical publications of the day; and among the rest, to the Mechanic's Magazine for August 19th (No. 732), where it is to be found at the head of the "Notes and Notices" for the week. Some one rejoicing in the name of John Baddeley, made a sapient commentary upon it in the same publication, four weeks after; heading his article, "Mr. Pistrucci's Method of Medal-striking not new." But he either did not understand what he was writing about, or, although he may be, and very probably is, a well-intentioned and worthy mechanic, he is also a very simple one; for besides talking vaguely of "impressing dies with *a cast punch*" (which can hardly be said to be a definition of Pistrucci's method), he goes on to say, "the method was known and practised by my grandfather, *as far as it was practicable*, fifty years since;" and he adds, "it was carried to its utmost (*known*) extent in the coining of the old penny at Matthew Bolton's Mint, Soho, near Birmingham, in 1797:" all which is true enough in one sense, for Mr. John Baddeley's grandpapa may have done his very best, and "Matthew Bolton's mint, Soho, near Birmingham," may have done *its* very best; in other words, they may have availed themselves of the process in question as far as *they* deemed it practicable; and yet may, after all, have produced very sorry performances, for want of *that* which constitutes the merit and originality of Pistrucci's invention. The question, moreover, is not whether the

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attempt to make a cast iron die, or a cast iron punch, ever entered into the mind of man; for nothing, on the contrary, seems more natural than such an attempt; at the same time nothing is more certain, than that such an attempt, without Pistrucci's precautions and essential improvements, would be abortive. The question is simply this—*Is Pistrucci's an original invention or not?*

Of a different complexion is a short paper by a Mr. *William* Baddeley, which appeared in the Mechanic's Magazine for Saturday, April the 21st, 1838, and in which, the composition of his namesake, which had appeared seven months before in the same publication, is very justly reviewed, and smartly commented on. He says, with great truth, alluding to those who had so industriously sought to depreciate Pistrucci's invention, "The line of argument pursued by all these parties is of a very remarkable character; inasmuch as they one and all set out by denying the *novelty* of the invention, and wind up by designating it as *absurd* and *impossible*." Nothing can be more just than this observation; and Mr. William Baddeley might have added, that those who do *not* designate it "as impossible" or "absurd," but stoutly maintain that the process in question is old as the hills, and as well known, omit, at all events, to explain why, with such a means of multiplying dies in our own power, we remain, with regard to this department of art, much in the same position as we were "sixty years since." Had Mr. William Baddeley's manly and eloquent vindication of an artist, whose greatest crime seems to be the accident of his birth under a bluer sky than ours, appeared in these pages, instead of the Mechanic's Magazine, I should, in fact, have had nothing to say; for I can add but little to what he has brought forward. I take leave of his letter (which contains, I believe, the last published remarks on the subject before us), with expressing my hearty

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concurrence in all he has written, and my sincere admiration of his eloquent, manly, and *truly English* vindication of injured merit.

Now, Sir, it is no business of mine whether Mr. Hamilton should or should not have signed his name to the letters which he thought proper to write in defence of Pistrucci, "whose want of proficiency in our language," to borrow the words of the writer in the Mechanic's Magazine, "compels him to endure unanswered the base and cowardly insinuations of disappointed rivals." I do not appeal to you whether "English" ought or ought not to write rude letters; or whether A.Z.,[1]—A.S.S.,—or any other combination of initial letters of which our language is susceptible, should or should not pester the public with dull ones. Neither do I choose to discuss whether it would or would not be more gratifying to an Englishman's feelings to see native artists filling the several offices, and enjoying the several emoluments of the mint, instead of our having one Italian, and several Frenchmen, constantly employed there in the service of the country. I do not seek to interest you in any of these questions, for they are, one and all, foreign to the point before us. My only object is to call your attention to the main fact of the case: viz. that whereas, by the process hitherto adopted on similar occasions, Pistrucci would have been fourteen or fifteen months in producing *his* die, not an ordinary die, for the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster; he has succeeded by a method devised by himself, and pronounced *new* by some of the first mechanics of the day, in accomplishing his object in about as many days. His process I shall describe immediately; the result of it was, that after the seal had received upwards of one hundred and fifty blows from the most powerful press in the mint,

[1] Morning Chronicle, March 15, 1838.

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the dies appeared, in every respect, the same as when first cast. No extension or abrasure of the metal had taken place, and they fitted no tighter in their bed after the operation than they did before. This position is incontrovertible, and none who have examined the seal of the duchy will deny its great merit and beauty. It bears, on the obverse, an equestrian figure of the Queen, in high relief, surrounded by a bold inscription; and on the reverse, the heraldic insignia of the duchy. The artist has succeeded in producing an original and beautiful work, though he was, of course, obliged to follow precedent, and adhere to established usage in the general design, as well as in the accessories of the seal of the duchy. The die in the custody of the chancellor of that department of the state, is of silver, and four inches in diameter.

Pistrucci's method is as follows:—He makes his design in wax or clay, imparting to his model the degree of finish he wishes finally to produce in metal: from this model a cast is made in plaster of Paris; which cast, having been hardened with drying oil, serves as a mould from which an impression is very carefully taken in fine sand. From this a cast is made in iron; which iron cast Pistrucci employs as his die. It is obvious that by a very slight modification of his process, either a die or a punch is obtained; as it may be his object to produce a medal, or a seal, as in the case of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The efficiency of this apparently unpromising contrivance depends on the following conditions and peculiarities:—The cast iron die, prepared as above, is made *extremely thin*,—not exceeding, perhaps, one eighth of an inch; by which means, not only a degree of sharpness is obtained, similar, though certainly inferior to that produced by the Berlin workmen (and when I state that Pistrucci is his own founder, this will not appear extraordinary); but a degree

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of toughness and hardness, equal, if not superior to that of hardened steel, is acquired for the die, by its cooling in a mass, instead of cooling first on the two opposite surfaces, as is always the case with a large volume of metal, owing to the chill which necessarily affects the surface before extending to the interior; and of which the inevitable consequence is, that all the fine lines shrink, and the delicacy of the work becomes impaired, to say nothing of the fragility of the die itself produced under such conditions, which is an insurmountable bar to its utility.—The back of this thin cast-iron die is rendered mathematically smooth and even, and the edge made perfectly circular: and a corresponding circular hollow having been turned in a solid steel bed, into which the thin piece of cast-iron is inserted, all the advantages of weight, and solidity, are immediately imparted to it; at the same time that, owing to its thinness, it possesses, as already stated, the sharpness which could never have been imparted to an impression made in a thick or larger mass of metal.

It requires very little discrimination to perceive that by this invention a gigantic stride has been made. No reflective mind can fail to have lamented, that the expense attending all original works of art must ever limit their production; and, among the rest, to have been frequently struck with regret at the melancholy conviction that the expense consequent upon the great labour and consumption of time in executing a medal, offers an insurmountable bar to our progress in this beautiful department of the fine arts. But Pistrucci shews us how the impediment is to be surmounted. By his invention—process—contrivance, or by whatsoever other name, or names, his friends or his enemies may please to designate his cheap method of procuring a first-rate die—we shall be able to multiply medals bearing original designs at a comparatively trifling expence.

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I call the die so produced "first-rate," because it must be obvious that, as it is a fac-simile of the wax model, the medal itself will also be a faithful representation of the same original; and in consequence, will exhibit all those delicate touches—will reflect all the feeling, and softness, and freedom of manipulation, which a good artist well knows how to impart to a plastic material such as wax, but which the rigid steel stubbornly resists, or unwillingly receives.

That a feeling of personal enmity against Pistrucci has suggested the unkind and ill-mannered diatribes which have been issued respecting his invention, cannot be doubted for a moment by any candid observer; for how has *he* acted with regard to the subject under consideration, that certain persons should "wag their tongues in noise so rude against him?" According to their own statement, all that can be urged against him on the present occasion is, that he is labouring under the error of supposing that he has made a discovery, whereas, say they, he has made no discovery at all; or, to quote the classic metaphor of "English," because he has had the misfortune to "discover a mare's nest." Surely a man is not to be abused and pelted with mud, because he announces, or because *it has been announced*, that he has had such notable good luck: surely he stands more in need of quiet commiseration than of noisy abuse, if, indeed, he *be* labouring under a delusion. Again I ask, how has he behaved with regard to his invention? Has he applied for a patent? and thus secured to himself the advantage that should accrue to him from his industry and ingenuity. No: he shows any one who pleases to see it, his die; and describes to any one who pleases to listen, the process by which he obtained it. And for this—this highly eminent and distinguished foreigner—an honour to the nation which has adopted him, is held up to public obloquy, as if he really had been guilty of some crime: and all the

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bead-roll of old grievances gone over—the Waterloo medal (without exception the grandest work of modern times)—the Signor (no fault of his)—the salary (300*l.* a-year, I believe, with which he supports himself and his large family in Italy), and several other items connected with his personal history; respecting one and all of which, it may be truly said, that there are not half a dozen persons in London who are competent to offer any opinion at all.

In dismissing the subject, I cannot forbear remarking, that though by the process which Pistrucci employs, the art of die-sinking and engraving in steel will suffer, a far higher object—the advancement of *the art of design*—will be incalculably promoted: and I may not be far from the truth when I humbly offer it as an opinion, that we have at last discovered the means by which the ancients effected such wonders in this department of art. Their coinage presents two points of considerable difficulty; namely, its immense variety—considered collectively; and its exceeding beauty—considered individually. But it is a ready clue to the solution of both these difficulties, that they should have known a simple and expeditious method of producing a die; and that they should have possessed a means of transferring to the rigid iron punch, the softness of the plastic material to which the artist imparted his passing inspiration, and which he at once invested with the loveliness of his graceful and glorious fancy. J. W. B.

June 26, 1838.

[We insert the foregoing at the earnest request of our Correspondent, but here the matter *must* end. Mr. Pistrucci's advocate has been heard (he might have been heard before, if he had desired it); and the public will be the judges. We agree with our Correspondent that the opponents of Mr. Pistrucci have been too lavish of epithets; but this weakens the cause they advocate, and therefore requires no comment. On the other hand, we fear our Correspondent's language is calculated to provoke further discussion; but as we trust our columns will for the future be devoted to subjects of more interest, we announce, once for all, that no further notice will be taken of this controversy in the "Numismatic Chronicle."—Editor.]

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MISCELLANIES.

DATES ON COINS.—The revival of the practice of placing dates on coins (*see the Numismatic Journal*, No. VIII) commences with a Tournois of Aix la Chapelle, dated MCCCLXXIIII. This very interesting coin has lately been published in the *Revue de la Numismatique Francaise* (No. 4, July and August, 1837). The coin is also is my cabinet, and is not very rare, being well known among the collectors of coins of the middle ages throughout Germany; and has already been published twice before, first in 1754, by the Jesuit Joseph Hartzheim, ("*Historia Rei Numariæ Coloniensis*," page 177, Tab. v. No. 15), and in Meyer's History of Aix la Chapelle, page 872, Tab. ii. (*Nummorum Aquisgranensium*, No. 27). However, the word Juncheit has not been explained in those works; neither is there an explanation given in the *Revue de la Numismatique Francaise*. I have lately seen a variety of types of this Tournois, in that unique collection of the coins of Treves, the property of Mr. Bohl at Coblentz, the learned author of the Monetary History of the Archbishoprick of Treves, a gentleman well known amongst the amateurs of Numismatology on the continent. He stated to me that the word Juncheit (Moneta Juncheit) might be given as an abbreviation of Junkern-heide (Junker's Heath) a place where the mint was erected.

In the French "*Revue*" that coin seems to be classed "*Monnoie des Pays-Bas;*" but surely Aix-la-Chapelle was, and is, a true German town, as we may read on the coins contemporary with Charlemagne; and until and after the era of our Tournois, *Aix* was always termed a metropolis, a residence of Charlemagne, a coronation town of the German emperors, &c. "Aquisgrani Caput Imperii; Urbs Aquensis Regia Sedes; Sedes Caroli Magni Imperatoris; Aquisgranum Caput Orbis," &c. There exists yet a poem contemporary with Charlemagne, wherein this great monarch is praised for what he had done for that city with regard to its embellishment.

> Rex Carolus, caput orbis, Amor Populique Decusque,
> Europæ venerandus Apex, Pater optimus, Heros.
> Augustus, sed et urbe potens, ubi Roma secunda, &c.

In 796 Charles laid the foundation of the Cathedral, (Unſrer lieben Frauen Anno DCCXCVI). "Karolus solennem Basilicam

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Aquisgrani in honorem Mariae fundavit, at cujus ædificationem a Roma et Ravenna solempnas (Säulen, Columpnas) marmoreas devehi mandavit gravibus expensis et laboribus. Auroque et argento et luminaribus atque ex aere solido cancellis et januis,[1] ornavit. Fecit autem ibi et palatium, quod nominaverat Lateranis, et collectis thesauris suis de regnis singulis in Aquis adduci praecepit. Fecit autem et opera multa et magna in codem." The monk Notker of St. Gall says also, that Charlemagne, having laid the foundation of the Basilica S. Dei Genitricis Aquisgrani, built also a bridge over the Rhine at Mayence, five hundred feet long, "Et pons apud Moguntiacam in Rheno quingentorum passum longitudinis." Aix la Chapelle was twice devastated and burned by the Normans, once in 851, and again in 881, when the Royal chapel was transformed into a stable. Now in Meyer's History of Aix, I have observed that, in the year 1372, the said town concluded a treaty of an union or junction with the Archbishoprick of Cologne, the Archbishoprick of Treves, and the town of Cologne (which had its coinage different from that of the Archbishop Frederick III Count of Saarwerden, who lived at that time in Bonn, and in open hostility to the people of Cologne) for a mutual conformity to the standard of the coinage. This junction seems to have lasted until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In 1404, the coins of Aix la Chapelle bear again the proper name *Mōneta Aquensis*. I am therefore of opinion, that the word Juncheit, on the *Tournois* published in the *Revue Numismatique Française*, has no other signification than that the coin was struck during that junction; that *Juncta Societas*, which word *Juncta* was then teutonified into Juncheit, as one may say Geſund, Geſundheit—Frey, Freyheit. In 1417, a similar junction was made between Mayence, the Palatinate, Treves, and Cologne. Then the coins were named "*Moneta nova Renensis*," also referring to that Rhenish confederation. The following charter is given by Hartzheim, Cap. XL. "Anno 1417, Joannes Moguntinus,[2] Wernerus Trevirens,[3] Theodoricus Col.[4] A.A.A. Ludovicu-Palatin Electores Boppardiæ die Lunæ post Reminiscere mones talem congressum celebrant annos XX, duranturo fœdere monetario, Marca Coloniensis pro regula ponderis puri metalli et valores statuitur." In that now so rare and excellent work, „Kritiſche Beyträge zur Münzkunde des Mittelalters," by the late Reverend Abbé Joseph Mader, this interesting *Tournois* of Aix la Chapelle is also mentioned, but not explained.

[1] These bronze gates are yet preserved at that cathedral.
[2] John II, count of Nassau.
[3] Werner, baron of Falkenstein.
[4] Theodore, count of Moers.

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Meyer has published a coin of Aix la Chapelle, bearing the date 1404 in the Arabic numerals: this is the earliest occurrence I know on coins. I have one of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, dated with our present numerals, 1474. I have never yet met with an exact epoch given of the introduction of the Arabic numerals into Europe. Many times, in a solitary walk through the stupendous cathedral of Mayence, have I paused before that marble tablet which Charlemagne had erected to the memory of his first wife, Fastradana (a daughter of the count of Rotenburg). She had died at Frankfort in 774, was brought to Mayence, and buried in the church of St. Alban. After that church had been destroyed by fire, that remarkable marble was placed in the cathedral. It bears the date, seven hundred and ninety-four, in the Arabic numerals, . Now even if it were, as some suppose, a copy of the first tablet, I do not see why the merit of introducing the Arabic numerals into Europe should not be given to Charlemagne. It is not to be supposed that such a great, such a wise monarch, who conquered the Saracens in many a battle, and who must often have had prisoners and ambassadors of high distinction at his court, should have allowed an art of so much importance in the calligraphic science to have remained unnoticed. J. G. Pfister.

Forgeries.—That there have lately reappeared several imitations of interesting and rare coins of the Lombards; and as the price was only a trifle more than the intrinsic value of the metal, I bought some of them for my own inspection and comparison, and to mark the difference between genuine and fabricated coins. In Rome, for instance, I met with the famous gold solido of Lucca, "*Aistulfus Rex*," an imitation of the original coin—of which a specimen is in the British Museum. And I could not help smiling, when at Bologna (*La Grassa, Mater Studiorum*), at meeting with the coins. M. F. de Saulcy has lately published in the *Revue Numismatique* (March and April, 1838), as unique and curious monuments, "troués et usés, comme doivent l'être des pièces qui ont été portées en guise de reliques." Now I consider that the forgery of such coins cannot be done with a pecuniary view, but as a matter of jest. It is perhaps not generally known, that there are proofs of the existence of a species of learned men who are impediments to learning, and who amuse themselves with not merely having imitations sometimes made of scarce coins, but also by fabricating coins which never existed, and on which the the inscriptions and symbols are the inventions of the parched brains of those savans. The object of such miserable conduct seems apparently to be, to amuse themselves with observing what

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numsimatists of sound understanding, but not on their guard, may afterwards describe them to be. Human nature is always liable to err; and numismatology, with its incalculable extent and variety, requires, perhaps, more practical knowledge and observation than any other science; therefore, such men by their pitiful conduct do more harm to that knowledge than Becker ever did. It thus becomes the duty of every lover of truth to endeavour to "confound their knavish tricks;" find the persons out; and to publish their names, without regard to the rank or station they hold in society.

J. G. PFISTER.

SCEATTAS.—Sir,—I am induced to send you a few remarks upon the coins called sceattas, in consequence of the light which has lately been thrown upon them, and which all tends to confirm a long-formed opinion, that they are the peculiar coinage of the kingdom of Northumbria.

The general resumblance these coins bear to the stycas, might have justified their appropriation to the same place of coinage, even had not the names of Aldfrith and Alchred occurred upon them; for surely it is more reasonable to suppose, that the latter name, on a coin published by Ruding, is that of the king of Northumbria, than of a moneyer; and to these, that of Huth has probably been lately added.

Two stumbling-blocks, in the way of showing that they did not of necessity, at any time, form part of the general circulation of the Saxon kingdoms, may be without difficulty removed;—the one, if, in reference to their being so often found in the Isle of Thanet, we reflect how frequently excursions into Northumbria by piratical Danes are recorded, and who always returned with their plunder to Thanet, where the coins were lost;—the other, arising from the occurrence of the names of Ethibert and Ecgberght, kings of Kent, may be explained by assigning the coins to the bishops of the same names, who filled the see of York from 734 to 780; and there is no reason why they should not have had the power of coining silver as well as copper: and the type, that of a full-length figure, holding in each hand a pastoral staff, is certainly that rather of a bishop than a warrior king.

It may be observed also, that the type of the sceattas is in general a dragon, or snake, or the part of one; and even that which is called a bird, may be that variety of dragon which has since been more accurately represented, and added to the natural history of heraldry, under the name of a *wivern;* and the cause of this may possibly be explained by a passage in the Saxon chronicle:—"Hoc anno, extiterant immania portenta per Northymbrorum terram, quæ populum istum miserè terruerunt; nempe, immodica fulgura, visi sunt item igniti dracones in ære volitantes: quæ quidem signa statim secuta est gravis fames."

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"RUNES" also sometimes occurs upon these coins; and at the time they were coined, Northumbria was considered almost in the light of a Danish colony; but whether they are rightly called sceattas, or are a peculiar form of the Northumbrian penny, and that only a money of account, is another question, and one upon which no inference from the weight of the coins can be drawn, since these vary as much from the proper standard, as the penny itself does. I am, &c. &c. C. W. L.

CORONATION MEDAL.—We have been favoured with a sight of Mr. Pistrucci's forthcoming Coronation Medal, and have particular pleasure in offering him our tribute of applause on the great merit and beauty of his performance. It will be so shortly before the public, and will so surely meet with the admiration it deserves, that little needs to be said concerning it here. On the obverse we are presented with a portrait of the Queen, the most extraordinary in point of resemblance we remember to have yet witnessed. The head is crowned with a tiara, and veiled, which really is an agreeable and happy manner—the feeling with which on ancient coins the heads of queens are similarly represented, in allusion to their sacred character; the veil being the symbol of deification, in which character alone royal heads appear on ancient coins. The reverse of this medal resembles the reverse of that which celebrated the coronation of George IV. The three sister kingdoms press forward to present the sitting Queen with the crown, and over them is written: "*Et erimus tibi nobile regnum.*"

Fine and Rare Coins from the Collection of the late W. Bentham, Esq., F.S.A., sold at Sotheby's Auction Rooms, 30th April, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th May, 1838.

Lot.		£.	s.	d.
28	Cunobeline, a Head inscribed "Camul," *rev.* Vulcan seated, not in Ruding, very rare	8	10	0
40	Penny of Stephen and Henry, Plate 1. No. 30	16	0	0
55	Ditto of Richard III., struck by Bishop Rotherham	2	7	0
149	Half-groat of Edward VI., "Posui," &c. M. M. *Arrow*	8	2	6
153	Penny of Charles I., Exeter (query)	5	0	0
164	Groat of Perkin Warbeck	3	9	0
282	The Pudsey Sixpence of Elizabeth, an Escalop Shell on reverse	3	5	0
416	Shilling of Edward VI. (Head side different from Plate 5, No. 4. Snelling), *rev.* E. R. in field, &c. of good silver, weight 69 grs., very rare, if not unique	7	0	0
431	Ninepenny Piece of Oliver	4	16	0

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		£	s.	d.
478	*Exurgat Half-crown* of James I.	14	15	0
490	Chester Half-crown of Charles I.	9	0	0
491	Worcester ditto ditto	2	15	0
493	Unknown Mint ditto ditto	9	0	0
543	Five Pound Piece of Charles I.	8	12	6
187	Half Noble of Richard II.	5	7	6
193	Angel of Henry VI.	7	17	6
296	George Noble of Henry VIII.	10	5	0
443	Edward VI. *Angel*, M. M. Dragon's Head.	17	15	0
552	Henry VII. *Sovereign*, Plate 11, No. 4.	5	0	0
555	Edward VI., Sovereign of his 4th year.	30	10	0
559	Elizabeth Noble, p. 5., No. 10.	6	17	6
564	James I. Noble, M. M. Rose, Plate 5.	10	15	0
565	Ditto Spur Rial, Lion supporting Arms.	15	0	0
581	George III., Two Guinea Piece, 1768	13	0	0
582	Ditto, Five ditto ditto, 1770.	32	0	0
135	Egberht, "Della Moneta," see Ruding, p. 14, No. 2.	10	5	0
139	Alfred, without Portrait, p. 15, No. 10.	4	13	0
140	Ditto with ditto, London in Monogram.	6	12	6
141	Edward the Elder, with building, p. 16, No. 20.	7	2	6
273	Hardycanute, with Head, *rev.* Two Crescents in the Cross, "Sieried on Lund," not in Ruding.	7	0	0
274	Ditto, without Head, struck at London.	5	7	6
206	Mary's Testoon, Young Head crowned, 1553.	31	0	0
210	Ditto ditto, with Portrait, 1562.	6	6	0
211	Ditto, Half Testoon, ditto.	4	5	0
332	James VI, Thirty Shilling Piece, Three Quarters Bust	4	0	0
92	James V, Bonnet Piece, 1540, p. 2, No. 9.	3	12	0
221	Mary's Ryal, with Portrait, 1555.	10	0	0
368	Commonwealth Farthing, "England's Farthing for necessary change."	2	9	0
369	Oliver's Farthing, his Head, *rev.* "Charitie and Change."	8	12	0
370	Pattern for Farthing, Rose crowned, *rev.* Arms, "Pro lege, grege et rege." Another inscribed, "Pray for the King," "Lord give thy blessing"	5	0	0
371	Charles II, a Pattern, Two C.'s and R. interlinked, *rev.* Four Sceptres.	4	1	0
546	Charles I, Pattern for Half Crown, by Briot, 1630.	7	7	0
	Commonwealth, ditto, by Ramage, inscribed "Truth and Peace" on the edge, size of a Sixpence, 1651.	8	5	0

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The Society met on THURSDAY THE 15th MARCH—

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Presents of numismatic works and of some ancient coin moulds were announced.

I.

Coins of the New World.

Mr. Bollaert read to the meeting a Memoir on the Circulating Medium of the New World; from which it appears, that the Mexicans, though possessed of infinite riches in gems and the precious metals, used as coin the cocoa seed from which chocolate is made; while the Peruvians applied the pod of the *Uchu*, a large species of capsicum, to the same purpose. In Brazil, gold and precious stones were known to the natives merely as ornaments. After the conquest of these countries, the Spanish settlers were compelled to resort to cut money for a circulating medium. Gold and silver beaten out in thin strips, and cut into pieces, weighing each about an ounce, served the purposes of stamped money. A cross was imprinted on these pieces, which were denominated "Plata Macuquina," or cut money. Mr. Bollaert states, that as recently as the year 1829, he saw some of these coins in circulation in Peru and Chili. Copper coin, in any shape, was formerly unknown to the Spanish colonists; but in 1825, the Buenos-Ayreans adopted a small coin of that metal, which they called a *Decimo*; it is somewhat larger than a farthing, and was manufactured, it is supposed, in Birmingham. The first mint was established at Mexico; subsequently mints were set up at Potosi, Chili, Lima, Santa Fé de Bogota, and Guatemala. The coins then adopted were the following:—1. *La onza de oro*, or doubloon, weighing about 17 *dwts.* 8 *grs.* averaging in value, from 3*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* to 3*l.* 4*s.* 0*d*;—2. *La media onza*, half the foregoing;—3. *La quarta de onza*, escudo, or quarter of an ounce;—and 4. *La media quarta de onza*, or half quarter of an ounce. On one side was the portrait of the Spanish monarch; on

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the other, the arms of Castille and Leon. The silver coins were: 1. *El peso duro, piastre*, hard dollar, piece of eight or Spanish dollar, value four shillings;—2. *El medio pesa*, half a dollar or four rials;—3. *Dos reales*, or two rials;—4. *Un real*, one rial;—5. *Media real*, or half rial;—6. *Un quartillio*, or quarter of a rial: the latter had, in the place of the bust, a lion on one side, and on the reverse, the value of the coin. The gold coins were alloyed with silver, the silver with copper; but of late, copper has been used in alloying the former, being found less expensive, and rendering the coins less liable to wear. Mr. Bollaert concluded his paper by referring to a MS. volume on the Coins of South America, arranged by Mr. Bult.

II.

Roman Coin Moulds. A paper was read by the Rev. I. B. Reade, on the Roman Coin Moulds discovered at Lingwell Gate. The object of this paper was, to shew that the Roman emperors themselves resorted to casting, to supply their exhausted military coffers.

James Moyes, Esq. and
William Jerdan, Esq.
Were elected Members, and the Society adjourned to—

THURSDAY THE 26th APRIL.

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Presents of books and casts having been announced, Mr. Edward Hawkins read papers on the Coins of Northumbria (see our present number, page 1).

I.

Coins of Melita. There were also read a Memoir on the Coins of Melita, by Mr. J. Belfour.

II.

Modern Greece. Notes on the Coinage of Modern Greece, by Mr. L. J. H. Tonna.

III.

The Southend Treasure. A Letter on the Gold Coins discovered at Southend, by Mr. J. D. Cuff (see our present number, page 30).

Davies Gilbert, Esq. was elected a Member of the Society.

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The President announced to the Meeting, that a Committee had been appointed to draw up the Rules of the Society; and that Mr. Sergeant Scriven, Mr. Hobler, Mr. Mullins, and the Members of the Council, were engaged for that purpose. The Society then adjourned to—

THURSDAY THE 24th MAY.

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Presents were announced; among others, three medals from Count Dietrichstein, two of the illustrious author of the "Doctrina Numorum Veterum,"* and a third, in commemoration of the opening of the railway, from Vienna.

The Most Noble the Marquis of Bute,
George Glennie, Esq.
James White, Esq.
Montague Chambers, Esq.
Were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Edward Hawkins read a Dissertation on the Coinage of the Ancient Britons, and the well known passage in Cæsar in allusion to their circulating medium. This will be found, at length, in our present number, page 13.

* A description of this medal will be found in the Numismatic Journal Vol. II. page 55.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Our worthy Correspondent at Exeter has favoured us lately with several accounts of discoveries of Greek coins in that city. If our readers will credit it, there have been recently turned up coins of Chalcis, Zeugma, Antioch, Hierapolis, Clazomene, Samosata, Nicæa, and Alexandria!!! We should have written to our Correspondent on this subject, and endeavoured to convince him that he has been made the victim of a very gross fraud; but as statements relative to these "discoveries" have already appeared in print, we consider it to be our duty to declare thus publicly our total unbelief in the discovery of Greek coins in Exeter. Let us not for one moment be supposed, by this declaration, to question the veracity of our Correspondent: so zealous an antiquary would be incapable of falsehood or deceit: he therefore does not suspect it in others, who have taken advantage of his credulity. *There are no authenticated accounts of discoveries of Greek coins in Great Britain:* we have been at some pains to ascertain this fact. We no more question that our Correspondent saw the coins he describes dug up, than we are inclined to believe that he saw them first placed there by the workmen. He who is not aware of this trick, must either be a very young or a very near-sighted antiquary. Hundreds, nay thousands, of Roman coins have been found in London, but no Greek coin. The series of imperial Greek coins were for a long time neglected in this country, and indeed are still unintelligible to some collectors; added to this, they are for the most part (at least such as have reached this country) in very bad preservation, and unsightly in a cabinet. These, and refuse Roman coins, find purchasers at half a crown a dozen; and it is pretty well known what afterwards becomes of them. We have often seen coins with the types nearly obliterated, and which had perhaps been rubbing together in a little bag in the labourer's pocket for many weeks previously, sold to the curious by these rogues as then dug up on the spot. Among other relics, our Correspondent speaks of a coin of Agrigentum dug up close to the castle wall in 1812. We have had an impression of this very coin sent to us, from which we perceive that it is certainly of Agrigentum; but who will prove that it was brought to this island by the traders in tin? As to the countermark upon it, which our Correspondent supposes to be the head of a British prince, we have only to observe, that this head occurs as a countermark on many coins of Agrigentum discovered yearly on the site of that city; and that the discovery of a single coin in any place is not sufficient for the rational and enquiring antiquary.

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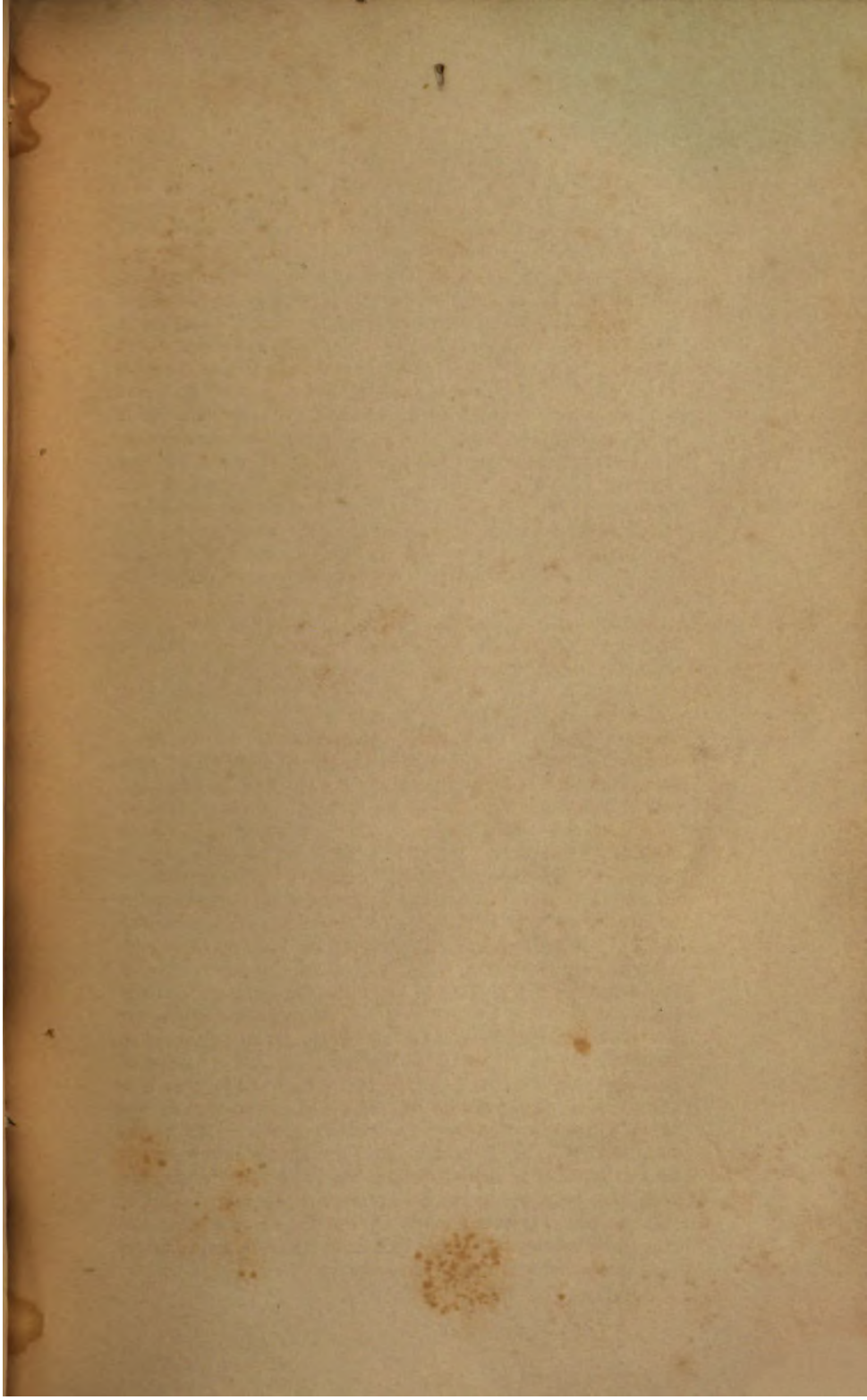

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GAULISH

BRITISH

SUBORDINATE SYMBOLS ON GAULISH & BRITISH COINS

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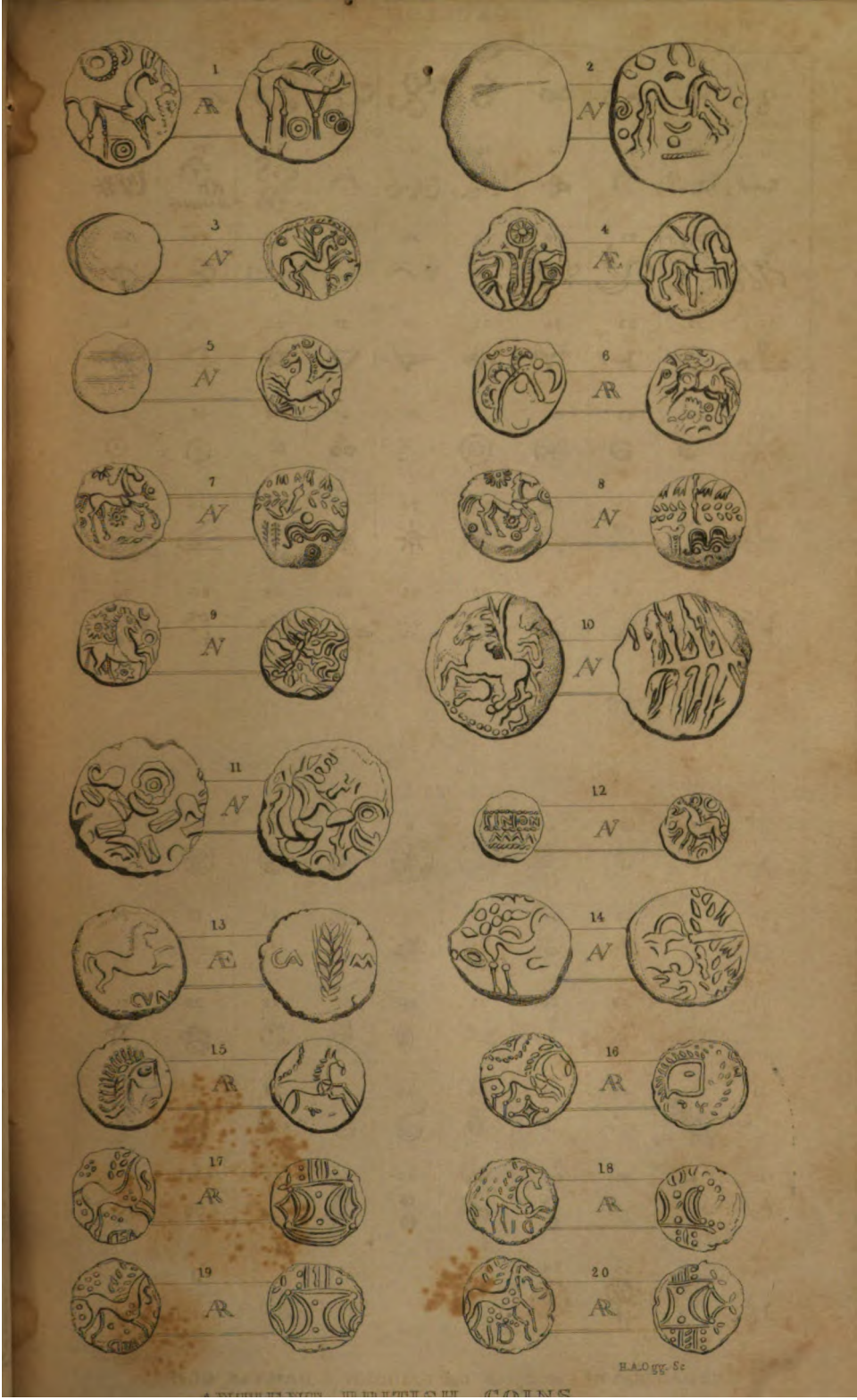

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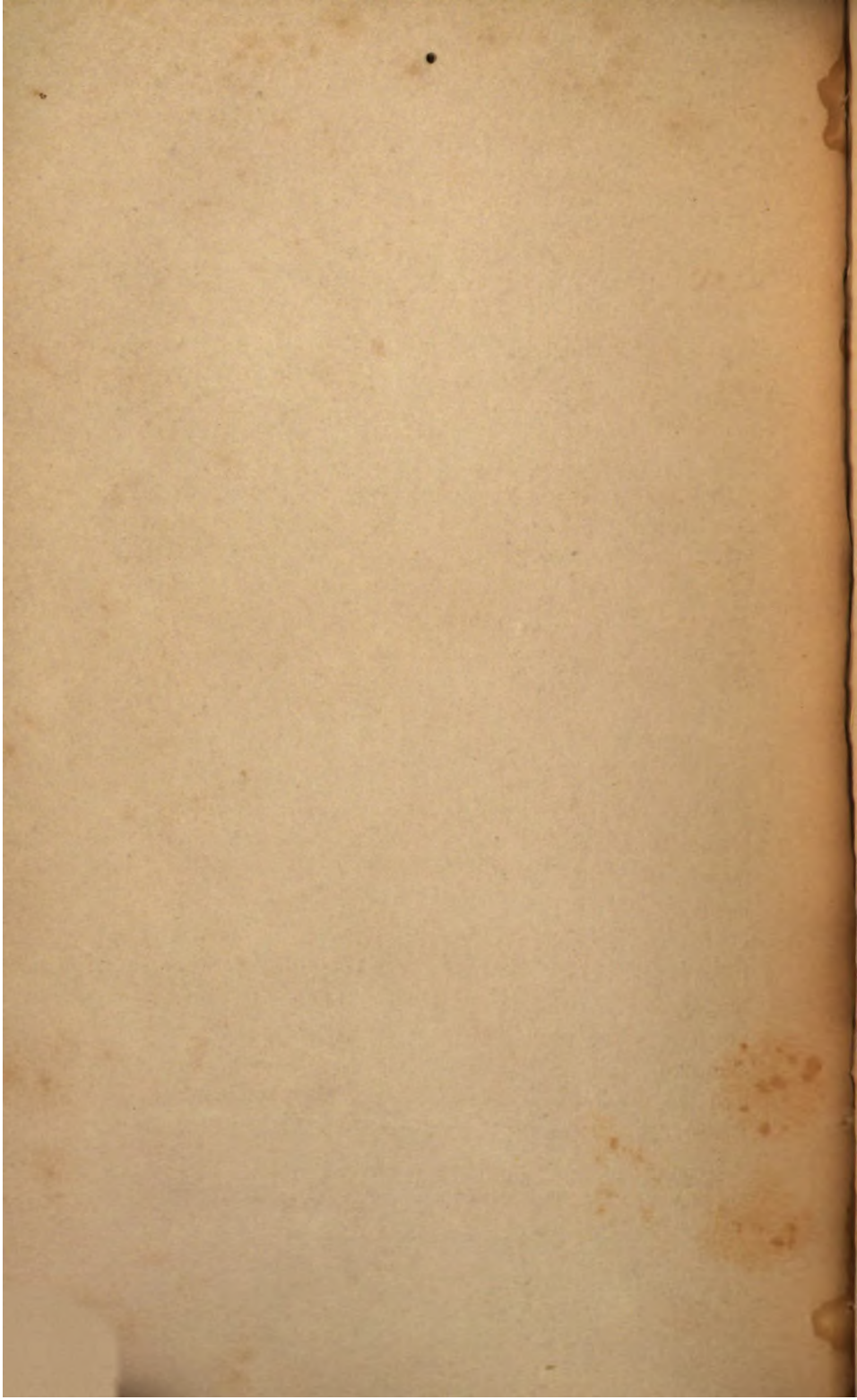

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IX.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE COINAGE OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

The remark of a numismatist of long practical experience and sound knowledge, after an examination of the public collection of coins at Paris and in the British Museum, "that certain primitive coins found in France exhibit peculiarities of type and fabric not observable in those found in our own country [Britain], and *vice versâ*[1]," would be sufficient to arouse the attention of the numismatic antiquary, if his enquiries had not already been directed to the subject by the observations of those who were desirous of assigning these coins to their proper origin.

The interesting paper of Mr. Hawkins, read to the Numismatic Society, in May last[2], is well calculated to give a spur to these enquiries, since there is little doubt that the well known passage in Cæsar, in reference to the currency of the Britons, has suffered by the carelessness and the interpolations of transcribers, until its original meaning has been entirely changed. If the authenticity of the MS. quoted by that gentleman may be relied on,—and of this there appears to be no doubt,—the long disputed point is settled, and the existence of a coinage among the Britons previous to the arrival of their conquerors may be safely admitted. This question settled, our next care is to enquire into the possibility of identifying and classifying ancient British coins, by minutely comparing the types with those

[1] Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 51.

[2] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 13. *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 263.

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of the Gauls, and by noting all particulars relating to the places of their discovery. The importance of attending to these inquiries is fully shewn by the paper of Mr. Hawkins, and the recent observations of Mr. Burgon, in the Numismatic Chronicle.

Ruding says, "If we proceed to examine the coins themselves, they furnish no proofs to justify their appropriation to any country." There were other means of ascertaining their origin; but these means were entirely neglected by the learned author of the "*Annals of the Coinage*," for, although his work is enriched by numerous engravings of British coins, he appears to have taken no pains to ascertain the places of their discovery[3].

Camden, in his "Britannia," after mentioning that coins of gold, silver and copper, of various sizes, and concave on one side, had been dug up in England in his time, adds, that they are "such as I have not yet learned to have been dug up anywhere else, till lately (1607) some such were found in France." It is very possible that this venerable antiquary had not made particular enquiries as to discoveries of somewhat similar coins on the Continent, or he would have learned that in France they were much more numerous. At this day they exist in immense numbers, of which the valuable and extensive list given by Mionnet is sufficient proof; and there is little doubt but that such pieces have, from time to time, been discovered in France long previous to the days of Camden.[4]

[3] In only one instance is the place of their discovery mentioned; namely, in the description of plate 2. No. 40, where he says, a large parcel of coins of a similar type were discovered near Colchester, in the year 1807.

[4] On this subject the forthcoming work of M. de la Saussaye, the learned editor of the "*Revue de la Numismatique*," will inform us.

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Mr. Hawkins observes, that "the difficulty with regard to *brass* money is not so easily overcome," adding, that "the evidence of such having been discovered is very slight." With submission to this gentleman, brass coins have been discovered in England; and specimens shall, if possible, be given in illustration of these remarks. I refer more particularly to the remarkable example presented to me by Mr. Lindsay, which shall be noticed hereafter.

Remarking on the specimens given by Ruding, Mr. Hawkins says, of No. 51. plate 3. "it would be unsafe to speak confidently about No. 51. without seeing it; but if the cross be intended for the Christian symbol, it must be of a later date than the coins now looked for." I venture to contend that the piece in question is of Gaulish origin. I have not yet seen the cross on British coins; but it occurs very frequently on those discovered on the Continent. It is found on all those discovered at Quimper, in Britanny, a short time since; and as these pieces are evidently much older than the days of Cæsar, it can, I submit, have nothing to do with the symbol of our faith. The *gold* coin given by Ruding[5] also has the figure of a cross within a dotted circle[6]. On other specimens, in the same plate, the cross is placed within a square[7].

Mr. Hawkins continues; "Figure 53. is evidently of the same class as the gold ones, plate 2. fig. 22 to 30. whose British origin we should hesitate to admit, because we have no certain evidence of the disinterment of any in Britain, if we except those like fig. 46, 47, 48. which were found at Mount Batten, near Plymouth, in 1832. These he considers

[5] Plate 2. No. 26.

[6] This is the type supposed by Speed to commemorate the baptism of Lucius, a British prince.

[7] Nos. 22, 24, 27.

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may have been brought there by traders, as they so much resemble those said to belong to Jersey. Fig. 52, he observes, is certainly British; a very positive assertion supported, however, by the fact that no coins of similar type have ever been discovered in France[8]. It appears doubtful whether No. 54. is of British origin; if so, the type has been more closely imitated from a Gaulish coin than was usual with the British artists, whose money, however fondly some antiquaries may cling to a contrary belief, was but copies of copies.

In support of this opinion, let us proceed to examine the the various objects represented on ancient British coins. On the very rudest, and, as may therefore be justly supposed, the earliest pieces, we discover an uncouth attempt to represent a human head[9], while the reverse bears the figure of some animal, which it would require the genius of a Stukeley or a Pegge to identify and name. These coins, in fact, offer nothing upon which the rational antiquary may safely venture to speculate; but their extremely barbarous execution warrants the conjecture that they are the very earliest attempts at coinage made by our rude ancestors. All these pieces belong to the *first* class of British coins; and it is possible that they are referable to a very remote period. If copied from less barbarous pieces, it would be difficult to point out their prototype.

[8] Fig. 44. is clearly of the same origin. I have a brass coin of this type plated with silver.

[9] See Ruding, plate 3. No. 65; and the Numismatic Journal, Vol. I. plate 1. No. 1 & 2. The latter specimen is one of a number discovered in St. James' Park, and really appears like an attempt to imitate those in Ruding's 3rd plate, Nos. 55 to 64. and No. 66, which are certainly Gaulish coins, many such having been discovered repeatedly in France, while none, I believe, have ever been dug up in this country.

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The second class, of which coins occur in the three metals, have more to interest, and consequently more to puzzle, the antiquary. On these we find the horse, the ear of barley, the sprig or branch, the crescent, the pentagon, and other objects, all of which are by some writers supposed to have been designed by the British moneyers, and intended by them to represent their peculiar customs, ceremonies, and superstitions.

The practised numismatist will smile at my endeavours to prove that such notions are erroneous; but these observations are addressed only to those who are inclined to the opinions of Stukeley and Pegge, and on this account are particularly insisted on; both these writers being by many of our countrymen, to this day, considered authorities on the subject of British coins[10]. Were I addressing the experienced numismatist alone, I need not allude to the practice among barbarous nations, of copying servilely, nor to their paying respect or adoration to the deities of the more civilized states with whom they were in intercourse. To such an extent has this been carried by some nations in modern times, that few can be ignorant of it; but one example will suffice for our purpose:—a recent traveller discovered in the house of a Chinese, a portrait of Our Saviour, to which the owner paid adoration. This one instance in a country the inhabitants of which are proverbial for their attachment to old customs and institutions, will serve better than a thousand examples selected from among a people less opposed to change.

[10] I a recent publication, one of these writers is cited, and a coin is quoted with the representation of the interior of an ancient British dwelling! Another worthy discovered in the seventh coin, in Ruding's first plate, *the ground plan of a city*, while a third pronounces it to be Exeter!

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I cannot, however, forego noticing a remarkable instance in illustration of this proposition; namely, the imitation of a coin of Edward the Confessor, by one of the moneyers of Ifarz, king of Dublin[11]. Here we not only have an imitation of the type, but also of the legend—FREDNE·ON·EOFFR, *Fredne of York*. This might be accounted for in various ways; but it shews that at a much later period the coined money of those states which had made one step in the march of civilization, furnished, barbarous as it might be, the model to people less civilized.

The money of the Greeks abounds in illustrations of their religious worship and warlike habits; and it is from these that the moneyers of Gaul and Britain obtained the subjects for their coins, selecting such as were congenial to their rude fancies. Hence the horse at full gallop and the charioteer, are favourite representations on Gaulish and British Coins.

I would ask of those who doubt what is here advanced, and who believe that the British moneyers *designed* the subjects for their coins, how it happens that the moneyers of Cunobeline resorted to Greek and Roman coins for models, if at an earlier period the Britons were capable of designing subjects for their money?

Of the objects represented on British coins of the earliest class it would be difficult to speak, since we cannot be certain as to what they are intended to represent. The second class bear, for the most part, the representation of a horse at full gallop, with strange ornaments of various kinds, and many subordinate but distinct symbols, to which some persons attach an important signification. Let us examine some of these symbols separately.

[11] Numismatic Journal, vol.ii. p.50.

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First appears the *wheel*. On looking over an extensive cabinet of Greek coins, we shall find that this symbol appears on the money of many cities of antiquity. On many of the specimens engraved in the work of the Marquis Lagoy on the coins of Massilia, &c.,[12] we find the wheel disposed in such a manner as leaves no doubt of its symbolical character. On one of the coins therein represented, it appears on *the helmet* of a galeated bust. Many of these pieces are such palpable attempts at imitation of the elegant coins of Marseilles, that the origin of the wheel on Gaulish coins can scarcely be doubted. But it would be going too far to suppose that the Gauls, in copying this symbol, intended it to express anything illustrative of their own particular religious rites. They probably copied it in the belief that it possessed some mystical character; and it was not the less sacred because it was not generally understood. We cannot doubt but that the Gauls were acquainted with the art of coining money, long previous to its being known to our rude ancestors; and it would appear that the British moneyers, in many instances, copied the types of the Gaulish coins, occasionally making alterations as their fancy dictated[13].

As regards the objects supposed by some to be the *sun* and *moon*, which appear as subordinate symbols on British coins, I have already endeavoured to account for their

[12] See a notice of this work in the Numismatic Journal, vol. ii. page 237.

[13] The greater part of these observations were written several months since. I had no communication with Mr. Hawkins on the subject, and was, therefore, agreeably surprised to find that that gentleman had taken the same view of these coins in his paper read at the meeting of the Numismatic Society, in May last. See the Numismatic Chronicle for July, 1838.

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being adopted by a rude people, who would naturally revere the two great luminaries. Both these symbols occur on Greek coins; and the crescent is particularly common.

It would be difficult to account for the adoption of the *pentagon*. I say the adoption of this symbol, for it may be confidently asserted, that they were not *designed* by either the Gaulish or British moneyers. The same symbol occurs on many Greek coins[14], and on the parts of the early asses[15].

To recur again to the *wheel*, to which so much importance has been attached by our English antiquaries, and, indeed, by those on the continent;—an inspection of the plates in illustration of the Marquis Lagoy's work, will convince the most sceptical that it originated with the Gauls, and that it was copied by their moneyers from the coins of Massilia.

On many Gaulish and British coins, we have an object which appears like an unfinished wheel, but whether it is intended for that symbol, or merely a rude imitation of the *theta* on Greek coins, cannot be determined. Numismatists will not require to be reminded, that the ancient theta is often formed of a circle with a dot or pellet in the centre.[16]

Sometimes, instead of a wheel, we have merely an annulet. On many coins we have a circle of dots or pellets with a a pellet in the centre. On others, a pellet is placed between the spokes of the wheel.[17] Some of those given by Ruding, bear the annulet with a pellet in the centre, the whole surrounded by a circle of dots.

On some British coins, the scull of an horned animal appears in the field; but we cannot venture to assert that

[14] See those of Velia. [15] See the Roman Unciæ.
[16] See the coins of Athens, Bœotia, &c.
[17] See the plate of symbols, in illustration of these observations,

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this symbol has any reference whatever to the religious ceremonies of the Britons. The reason of its adoption must be left to conjecture: in the mean time we know that this symbol occurs on many Greek coins, and that on some of those of Corcyra, it occupies the whole of the field of the reverse.

There are two subordinate symbols on our ancient British coins, to which antiquaries less fanciful than Stukeley, and Pegge, might be tempted to assign a particular meaning. I refer to Nos. 50 and 52, in the plate which illustrates these remarks. We might, on a casual inspection of these objects, pronounce them to be representations of musical instruments, did we not know that others which occur more frequently are attempts to imitate objects which appear on Greek coins. No. 50 appears on both Gaulish and British coins as well as on those discovered in the Channel islands, and may possibly be intended for a lyre. Symbol No. 44 invariably occurs on coins similar to that figured in Ruding, plate 3; Nos. 44 and 52. Some writers have described them as the Druidical tallies, but have advanced nothing to substantiate such an opinion; an opinion founded upon mere conjecture.

Symbol 43 is the head of a spear; an object which occurs on but one British coin.[18] The same symbol appears on coins of Greek cities.

I shall reserve for some future paper, my remarks on the other subordinate symbols occurring on British coins.

In my former observations I described, and engraved one of a number of coins found in Yorkshire in the year 1829.[19] I can now give the particulars of their discovery, which have been obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Cuff.

[18] Numismatic Journal, British Coins, plate i. No. 11.
[19] Ibid. plate i. No. 10.

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The Reverend William Lund, in a letter to that gentleman, says, that these remarkable coins, which differ materially from all others of this class, were discovered at Almondbury, the Cambodunum of the Romans, and one of their first settlements in that part of the island. There were sixteen or eighteen in number, and along with them were two hundred family coins, a few of which were in tolerable preservation, but the greater part nearly worn smooth by circulation. Mr. Lund, in describing these coins, justly remarks, that they cannot be later than the time of the emperors; an inference which must be allowed, from the circumstance of their being found with denarii of the consular series. Another circumstance worthy of remark, is, that the letters which occur on these coins are formed exactly like those on many of the early Roman denarii, particularly those of Antony and Augustus, and Augustus and Lepidus, the ends terminating in dots. The coins, too, are convex and concave, like many of the consular denarii; and from this peculiarity alone, may reasonably be assigned to a period at least as early as that of the first Dictator. If this be allowed, another question arises; namely, if the Britons were really not acquainted with the art of coining money when Cæsar arrived in this island, is it probable that they immediately after his departure created a stamped currency? Such a conjecture can scarcely be allowed by those who reflect that Cæsar's visit was hostile, and that the Roman legions were constantly occupied during their short stay in Britain. The coining of money was doubtless adopted by the Britons, in consequence of their intercourse with the Gaulish merchants; but, in all probability, we shall never obtain numismatic evidence as to the exact period when it was first resorted to.

A numismatic friend who has looked over these sheets

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remarks, that I am taking an unpopular view of this subject, and that if I should succeed in establishing such opinions, British coins would no longer be so highly valued. On this I have merely to observe, that I do not think the fact of British coins being copies of the money of the Greeks and Gauls, ought to render them worthless in the eyes of our collectors. On the contrary, by diligent examination, we shall probably in the course of time be enabled to appropriate them to particular periods and places, by comparing them with those pieces from which they may be supposed to have been imitated.

It must be obvious to all who have paid the least attention to this subject, that British coins not only vary in style and execution from those of the Gauls, but that many of them differ so materially from each other, as to leave not a doubt of their having been minted in various parts of the island, perhaps at distant periods, but at any rate in places far distant from each other.

Let us see how far this assertion is verified by recent discoveries of British coins.

The very singular gold coins of large module and peculiar type, found in Yorkshire[20], are unlike all others of the series. They evidently belong to a part of Britain remote from the southern counties, where pieces of a very different description are more frequently found.

The coins bearing the two crescents placed back to back[21] are also peculiar, and have been discovered in Norfolk and in Cambridgeshire.

Those pieces which bear a number of small objects scattered over the field[22], are found only in the counties of Sussex,

[20] See the Numismatic Journal, vol. i. plate 1; British coins, No. 10. [21] Ibid. plate 2, Nos. 1 and 2.
[22] Ibid, plate 1, No. 9. and Ruding, plate 3, Nos. 44 and 52.

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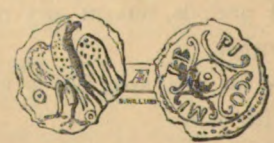
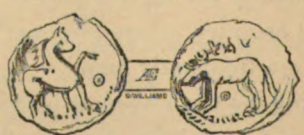
Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire and Cornwall[23], and are quite distinct in type and fabric from all other British coins. On the coast of Kent, and in the Isle of Wight, are discovered the coins numbered 1 to 4 in Ruding's first plate. Similar coins have been dug up on the opposite coast; and it is at present difficult to determine to which country they belong.

Coins of evident Gaulish origin are often discovered in Kent, and furnish proof of the intercourse which the inhabitants of that county had with the Gauls. A short time since, a gold coin was discovered at Sandwich, with the type of a horseman bearing a palm-branch; reverse, a victory, also bearing a branch, and the legend IPPI · COM.[24] The same legend occurs on a brass coin dug up near Kits Coty House, for a drawing of which I am indebted to Mr. Edward Pretty, of Northampton.



At the same time and place another coin of brass was discovered, which, like the former, is evidently Gaulish.



[23] With *one* exception, as noticed in my former observations; namely, in *Oxfordshire*, if Borlase, who is my authority, was himself correctly informed. The finding a solitary coin is, however, unimportant; but when the finding frequently occurs in the same place, evidence is at once afforded, on which the antiquary may rest his hope of a correct attribution.

[24] In the belief that this coin is of Gaulish origin, I forwarded the cast kindly sent me by Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich, to M. de la

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It is worthy of remark, that two coins of different metals and types, recently found in Kent, bear the legends IPPI·COM. and IPPI·COMI. M. de la Saussaye, remarking on the coin discovered at Sandwich, observes, that it bears a strong resemblance to the Gaulish imitations of Greek coins; particularly of those of Philip II. of Macedon, and that in all probability the letters IPPI are but one of the ordinary alterations of the word ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.[25] "If, however," he continues, we are to look for the name of a Gaulish chief in these letters, it may possibly be that of Commius, king of the Atrebati[26], the ally of Cæsar. We are strongly inclined to believe that it is in reality a coin of that gallant and ill-used chief; and until evidence shall be acquired to warrant a different attribution, it is excluded from the list of British coins.

The plates which accompany these remarks, contain representations of unpublished coins, several of which are entirely new. In describing them, I shall give such particulars as I have been enabled to obtain and authenticate, respecting the places of their discovery, the most important circumstance connected with our enquiry. The evident variations in the types, or rather, as Mr. Hawkins observes, in "the treatment of the types," is so apparent that there cannot be a doubt as to their belonging to different parts of the island, and of their issue at distinct intervals of time.

In plate 2 of my former observations[27], two coins are given with a very singular type. The first is of gold, and was discovered at Oxnead, in Norfolk. The second of

Saussaye, editor of the "Revue de la Numismatique Française,' whose forthcoming work will contain engravings of more than one thousand Gaulish coins.

[25] Revue de la Numismatique Française, Année 1837, p. 470.

[26] Cæsar, De Bello Gallico, lib. v.

[27] Numismatic Journal, vol. i.

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silver, and, like the former, bearing on the reverse two crescents placed back to back, differing, however, from those on the gold coin.[28] But the most extraordinary resemblance between these two coins, is the manner in which the head of the horse, and indeed, the whole figure of that animal, is formed. Since the publication of this last coin, three others of the same type have been presented to the Numismatic Society, by the Reverend Mr. Reade, who informs us that they were discovered in Cambridgeshire, the county adjoining that in which the gold coin was found.

Much remains to be done for the series of ancient British coins; but a good deal may be effected by our English numismatists, if they will carefully attend to the instructions already given them. By noting every circumstance regarding the places in which these pieces are discovered, and by diligent comparison of the metals, types, and weights, of the respective examples, there is little doubt that they may, ere long, be assigned to particular districts with as much certainty as many uninscribed coins are at present arranged and appropriated to Greek cities.

Description of the Plates.

Plate I. Symbols on Gaulish and British Coins.—A glance at the symbols given in this plate will suffice to shew, that in several instances they are copies of the same objects by the people of two countries; while it will be obvious that in many respects the British symbols differ from those found on Gaulish coins. It is well worthy of remark, that none of the varieties of the *cross*, so often found on

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[28] The coin given by Ruding, plate 2, No. 32, is evidently of the same origin. There are the two crescents placed back to back, and the horse and subordinate symbols, as on the specimens engraved in the accompanying plates, but of ruder execution.

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Gaulish coins, are met with on those pieces which are believed to be British, and which are found in this country alone, though it perpetually occurs on those discovered on the continent. It is possible that with the discovery of new types, additional subordinate symbols may be found; but the engravings here given may be of much service to the inquiry now instituted, and save, by reference to the numbers, the trouble of giving a description, which, after all, can only convey an imperfect idea of the object.

Plate II.

No. 1. A *silver* coin.— *Obverse.* The rude figure of a horse standing to the right: above, symbol No. 54, below symbol No. 3.—*Rev.* An uncouth, and apparently unfinished representation of some animal, probably a horse, standing to the right: below, two representations of the symbol No. 3. *Weight* 18½ *grains.* (*Cabinet of Mr. Lucas.*)

No. 2. A *gold* coin discovered on the south-east coast of the Isle of Wight, between Sandown and the White Cliff, after a founder of earth. *Obverse.* Plain and convex. *Rev.* A rude figure of a horse galloping to the right: in the field various ill-defined symbols. Weight 94 grains. Cabinet of Archdeacon Hill, of Shanklin, Isle of Wight. Communicated by Mr. C. R. Smith.

No. 3. A *gold* coin, found on the wharf near the Adelaide Hotel, London Bridge, in soil originally brought from the bed of the Thames. *Obverse.* Plain and convex. *Rev.* A winged horse, or Pegasus, caracoling to the right. The head appears to be surmounted by a cross, and the symbol No. 2 occurs four times in the place of a legend; (20 grains. Cabinet of Mr. C. R. Smith). *Doubtful if British.*

No. 4. *Copper. Obverse.* Two animals resembling hogs: above, symbol No. 53, and under each animal, symbol No. 2. *Reverse.* A horse galloping to the right before an object apparently intended for a tree.

This remarkable coin was presented to me by Mr. John Lindsay, of Cork, a gentleman well known for his numismatic acquirements, who states that it was found at or near Liverpool, with other British coins, a short time since. Looking at the obverse, as it is now represented in the plate, the figures at the first glance appear to be horses separating to the right and left; but on further examina-

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tion, *by holding the plate sideways*, it will be seen that they are intended for some other animals, and that they are probably meant for hogs, such objects being often represented on Gaulish coins in a somewhat similar manner. The head of one of the animals, it should be observed, is shaped like that of the figure on the reverse of No. 1. There is every reason to believe this coin is of British origin; and the singularity of its type, coupled with the circumstance of its discovery in a part of the country remote from the places where most British coins are dug up, deserves especial notice.

No. 5. *Gold. Obverse.* Plain. *Reverse.* A horse galloping to the left: below VΛI: above, symbol No. 2; and another symbol indistinct. (*Cabinet of Mr. Loscombe*).

No.6 *Silver. Obverse.* The rude outline of a human head, crowned with a diadem, to the right; above, some indistinct symbol. *Reverse.* A horse galloping, to the left. In the field, the symbols Nos. 2 and 14. (*Cabinet of Mr. Loscombe.*)

No. 7. *Gold.* Found near Chichester. *Obverse.* Concave. A horse galloping to the right: in the field symbols, Nos. 14, 3, and 2, the first occurring twice. *Reverse.* Convex. A wreath extending across the field, with other figures, the whole probably intended to form one object. Weight 19½ grains. Cabinet of Mr. Elliott, Chichester.

No. 8. *Gold.* Found near Chichester. Type resembling the preceeding. Weight 20½ grains. Cabinet of Mr. Elliott.

No. 9. *Gold.* A similar type to the preceding.* With the same symbols in the field.

No. 10. *Gold.* Found on Enfield Chase. *Obverse.* A horse galloping to the left: behind, a rude figure, intended probably for the driver: beneath, the symbol No. 50, and the letter V? *Reverse.* An object perhaps intended for a leaf, occupying the whole of the field of the coin. Communicated by Mr. Stothard.

This coin resembles very closely No. 7, Plate 1, in Ruding, the reverse being better defined. That figured in Ruding is the coin supposed by Polwhele to bear a representation of the ground-plan of Exeter! Such an idea, of course, does not require serious refutation; but it should be observed, that there is every reason to be-

* A coin resembling No. 7, 8, and 9, was found at Andover a short time since.

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lieve, that the coins bearing this type were minted in a part of the island far remote from that city. Future discoveries will in all probability justify their appropriation to London and its neighbourhood.

No. 11. *Gold.* One of the hoard discovered at Almondbury, in Yorkshire, and apparently differing in type from the rest, merely in the extreme rudeness of its execution.—See the *Numismatic Journal*, Vol. I.

No. 12. *Gold. Obverse.* [illegible] written in two lines across the field, between three beaded lines. *Reverse.* A horse to the left with symbol No. 2, in the field. (*Cabinet of Mr. Loscombe*).

The legend on the obverse would appear to be a barbarous attempt to give the name CVNOBELINE; and it is not improbable that the coin was imitated from one similar to that in Ruding, Plate 4. No. 13 and 14. The place of its discovery is unfortunately not known.

No. 13. *Copper*, found in the bed of the Thames, near London Bridge. *Obverse.* A horse galloping to the right: below, the letters CVN. *Reverse.* An ear of barley; across the field, the letters CAM. Weight 55 grains. (*Cabinet of Mr. C. R. Smith*).

The only brass coin of Cunobeline with this type I have seen. A similar type is of frequent occurrence in gold. See Ruding, Plate 4, Nos. 1 to 7.

No.14. *Gold*, found with many others, in a field at Haverhill, in Suffolk, about twenty years since. The workmanship of this coin is barbarous, and scarcely admits of a description. Communicated by Mr. F. Hobler.

No. 15. *Silver.** Found at Battle, in Sussex, with many others. *Obverse.* A rudely drawn head to the right. *Reverse.* A horse galloping to the right; the head resembling a griffin's; below, the remains of symbol No. 31; above, an indistinct symbol. Weight 18 grains. (*Cabinet of Mr. C. R. Smith*).

No. 16. *Silver.* Dug up at March, in Cambridgeshire, with Nos. 18, 19 and 20, which, with about forty others of a similar description, had been deposited in a small earthen vessel. A similar type, † but evidently from a different die; weight 19 grains. (*Collection of the Numismatic Society*).

* The material of which ancient British coins is composed, is more properly termed by the French potin, being much alloyed with other metals.

† It is worthy of observation, that on the forequarter of the horse there

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No. 17. *Silver.* Found at Battle. *Obverse.* The letters CEA. A horse galloping to the right, with three pellets on its fore-quarter; above, a branch, and the symbol No. 12. *Reverse.* Two crescents placed back to back in a kind of compartment; between the crescents, two pellets. Weight 19 grains. (*Collection of the Numismatic Society*).

No. 18. *Silver.* Found at March. *Obverse.* The letters IQ. A horse galloping to the right: above, symbol 33. *Reverse.* A similar type to that of No. 17. (*Collection of the Numismatic Society*).

No. 19. *Silver.* Found at March, resembling the former, but in perfect preservation. Symbols Nos. 12 and 32, appear above the horse, and below are three characters, which appear to be ⵚPAI Weight 18 grains. (*Collection of the Numismatic Society*).

No. 20. *Silver.* Found at March. A somewhat similar type, but of ruder execution; the characters appear to be the same as those on the preceding coin. On the fore-quarter of the horse are three pellets or studs. Weight 19 grains. (*Collection of the Numismatic Society*).

I cannot conclude these observations without again impressing on the minds of those who are interested in investigating the origin of these interesting coins, the absolute and imperative necessity of ascertaining *beyond a doubt* the places of their discovery. In doing this, I shall adopt the words of a numismatist of great practical knowledge and matured judgment. "The actual place of finding should be ascertained and certified on good authority; *no hearsay, but well authenticated facts of the finding.* One blunder or misstatement, whether accidental or designed, may do more harm than would be supposed, for it will require three or four truths to upset and neutralize or nullify the falsehood, and three or four more to establish the position." J. Y. A.

Peckham, August 20th, 1838.

are three objects placed in the form of a triangle; that on Nos. 17, 19, and 20 there are three dots or pellets, (as symbol 48); and that on No. 18, the three pellets are conjoined, and resemble a trefoil. These three pellets so often occur on British coins, that they are placed in the list of subordinate symbols.

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X.

TRÉSOR DE NUMISMATIQUE ET DE GLYPTIQUE.

Folio. Paris, 1834—1837.

Part I.—Ancient Monuments.

If it be a well-founded complaint[1] that many writers who have professedly contributed towards that important chapter in the narrative of progressive civilisation—the history of the Fine Arts—have been busily weaving erudite speculations with materials in great part *literary*, when they would have been better employed in helping to collect the remaining monuments of the arts themselves, and suffering *them* to speak; if this be true, then the appearance of every really judicious collection of these veritable materials ought to meet with especial welcome.

Such a collection we take to be the work, or rather series of works, now in course of publication at Paris, under the above title; and as such we welcome it. It consists of representations of multifarious objects of art, but chiefly of medals, coins, and gems, engraved by the process known as that of Achilles Collas, and which has been more than once noticed in the pages of the Numismatic Journal.

The *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, has been divided by its editors into three principal classes:—1. Monuments illustrative of ancient art. 2. Those illustrative of the art of the middle ages, and of modern history. 3. Those of contemporaneous history. We shall confine our present brief notice to the principal works comprised within

[1] See D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l' Art par les Monumens.*

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the first class, that of ancient art; and we begin with the NEW MYTHOLOGICAL GALLERY (*Nouveau Gallerie Mythologique*), edited by M. Lenormant, one of the most important of the series, although last in course of publication. The object of this work is to collect all medals and gems illustrative of the ancient religions of Greece and Rome, together with such bas-reliefs, terra cottas, ivory carvings, and jewels, *wherever preserved*, as may be found to contribute to the same purpose. "In order," says the learned editor, in his introduction, "to render our book useful and convenient to all, in what way soever accustomed to regard the ancient religions, we have arranged the monuments we publish in the manner most conformable to the received ideas in the ordinary compilations of mythology. Therein we have followed the example, not only of Millin, whose zeal exceeded his knowledge, and who has really been more useful than meritorious,—but also that of Winckelmann, who, in his classification of the collection of Stosch, has not suffered even the shadow of any peculiar system to appear. Thus the distinction between *gods* and *heroes* will here be faithfully preserved. After the Titans, the gods of heaven and of Olympus, will come the gods of the earth, of the sea, and of the infernal abodes; then, the allegorical divinities; and so on until our religious matter be exhausted. We shall not admit any distinction between the deities of Rome and those of Greece; the divinities of other countries will come in their turn, but only after those of the classic religions; so that researches may be made independently of the text, as in any other sort of collection. The descriptions will always be written with the care which has, we trust, characterized our other publications; the translations minutely faithful, the incidental illustrations as accurate as we can give them. As for the doubtful attributes, those

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microscopic details which are only to be discerned, glass in hand, and which no engraving can entirely represent, our statement may, I think, be relied on, wherever expressly affirmed: never shall the desire to make any one particular explanation triumph, lead us to twist an uncertain indication into our own particular point of view. That which is not clear in the original will, in our description, appear as doubtful. Such is the rule we have imposed on ourselves, and to which we hope to remain faithful on all occasions." After alluding to the want of any sufficient guide in the primary collection of materials for his task, M. Lenormant justly concludes that no difficulty of the kind should be allowed to hinder the use of "the truly unique opportunity which now presents itself, of bringing suddenly and at once so large a mass of authorities to bear upon generally circulated ideas; of presenting to so many superior intellects, far removed from great museums, so many elements of discussion, of which the most faithful descriptions give but very imperfect ideas."

We have extracted the more freely from these introductory observations, on account of the comparatively small portion of the work yet published; there is, however, quite sufficient to enable us to bear testimony to the faithfulness with which, so far, the plan is carried out.

As we have seen, the first portion treats of the Titans; section 1, illustrated by ten medals and gems, forming plate 1, is devoted to *Saturn;* section 2, illustrated by twenty pieces, to *Janus.* As a specimen of M. Lenormant's manner of treating his subject, we will make an extract from this section: it is much too long for entire quotation.

The etymology of the word Janus is traced to two roots: 1. The Phœnician *Jaon* (Ju-piter, Ju-no), and 2. *Annus,* and is supported by reference to several ancient opinions—

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such as that of Festus, who refers Janus to the Greek χάσκειν (whence Chaos)—and also to a passage in Ovid,[2] tracing up the first idea of Janus to primitive and cosmic unity; the double face of the god representing the sphericity proper to cosmic unity.

M. Lenormant proceeds to show that in the idea of Chaos, which belongs to Janus, is implied strife; imaged in the Janus *quadrifrons*, as sustained between the four elementary forces; and in the Janus *bifrons*, in the more strict as well as more usual sense of strife, between two principles at once connected and opposed. To understand the full force of this symbol, we must bear in mind, that with the Romans the *as* expressed unity, and that upon that monetary unity they were accustomed to stamp the Janus *bifrons* . . . . Cicero's second etymology *Janus quasi Eanus ab eundo*,[3] enables us to solve the primitive duality,—to establish a distinction between that part of the principle which expressed the stability and equilibrium of the universe, and the part whose attributes are action and movement; this M. Lenormant develops as illustrative of several parts of the myth, and proceeds:—

"But this dualism is not confined to the bringing together of the two bearded heads, expressing a perfect equality between the two relations; it assumes different expressions according to the diversity of the ideas which may be attached to it. It is worthy of remark, that the varieties of the Roman *as*, together with others of the ancient coins as they remain to us, represent, so to speak, all possible varieties of the dualism." These varieties M. Lenormant proceeds to class in a very lucid manner under ten heads; but to follow him would make our extract too long.

[2] *Fast.* i. 103, 104.

[3] *De Nat. Deo.* ii. 27.

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But in justice to the accomplished editor, we must state in his own words the view in which he wishes his labours to be regarded:—"For the rest," he says in the preface, "it would be doing me much wrong to suppose that I pretend to have invented a new system of mythology; the ideas which will here be developed are already everywhere. In the march of science, individuals are of little account; progression, when its time has come, is like a fluid, diffusing itself through the air, which every one breathes without thinking about it. It would be easy for me to find my fellow-labourers everywhere, and among them to name some who would seem the most opposed to my ideas."

Taking this work altogether, as a collection of the monuments of mythology from all parts of the civilized world, comprising at once medals, coins, gems, and the smaller kinds of sculpture, such as it was never before possible to bring into one focus, and as applying to these monuments the erudite illustrations and critical acumen of men whose fitness for the task is based upon long and patient research; we have little doubt that it will mark a new and important epoch in the annals of archæological and numismatic science.

II.—Numismatics of the Greek Kings.

This collection begins with the coins of the kings of Syracuse, so distinguished for the beauty of their execution, and here, for the first time, faithfully and adequately represented. It scarcely need be said, that M. Lenormant (who edits this work also) agrees with all the best and latest authorities in referring the supposititious coins of Gelo, first king of Syracuse (B. C. 494), to Hiero II. (B. C. 274); his series, therefore, commences with the coins of Agathocles (B. C. 317). It is admitted in the preliminary observations,

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that, strictly speaking, the coins of Greek kings should begin with those of Macedonia; but it has been thought more convenient for the reader, and more in keeping with the main purpose of the whole undertaking—utility rather than novelty—to continue to follow the geographical arrangement of Strabo, as adopted by Eckhel, departing from it only in cases of clearly discovered error, such as that just adverted to, respecting the coins of Hiero II., which both Eckhel and Visconti ascribed to the earlier kings.

I cannot but think that, in this country especially, coins and even medals are regarded too much as the mere materials of monetary history, to the neglect frequently of those higher purposes they are so well qualified to subserve, and of which many eminent men, both English and foreign, have repeatedly marked their just appreciation. Among the latter, Winckelmann long ago insisted on the great importance of coins and medals, *as works of art;* and he has somewhere said, that the human conception is unable to surpass the beauty of the finest among the Syracusan coins.[4] It seems strange, indeed, that at this period it should be necessary to *defend* numismatic studies; yet it is unquestionable that they are often looked upon as a sort of hobby, respectable and proper enough in a professed numismatist, but by no means indispensable even to a cultivated taste in art, still less imperative on every well-educated man. Yet not only do coins in general occupy a most important place among the *Paralipomena Historica*, but those of Greece

[4] The passage occurs, I think, in the Erinnerung über die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst. There is also some interesting discussion on the same subject in the essay of the late Dr. Stüglitz (best known, perhaps, as a distinguished amateur of architecture), entitled, Versuch einer Einrichtung antiker Münzsammlungen zur Erläuterung der Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums. 8vo. Leipzig, 1809, or thereabout.

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more particularly, afford very fair criteria of the state of the arts of design at the periods when they were respectively struck; having, be it remembered, an advantage over nearly all other monuments of art, in the *certainty* (for the exceptions are both rare and distinguishable) of their dates. Marbles are frequently found entirely without inscription; coins have invariably their legends, and thus aid us materially in tracing the successive steps in the development of art. Nor is this all; in the words of a very distinguished archæologist, the Duc de Lygnes,[5] "it was not merely the caprice of the artists, or the necessity of adorning the metal intended for the exchanges of commerce, with some symbol or other, which produced the varied types of the Greek coins; for in these there may always be recognized a much more important motive. From the most distant times, we see them bearing effigies, national and religious; and hence the true importance of numismatical researches; for even when a coin or medal does not commemorate a name or fact which else had been unknown to history, it shows with certainty the *political state* of a people at an epoch, the date of which its fabrication can fix alone. The multitude of Greek autonomata has enabled numismatists to arrange them in a regular and unvarying series. They have been enabled to show that these coins are archives wherein every day brings to light some curious fragment bearing on the local myths or on the religions of the great cities. Upon these yet intact monuments are inscribed, by the indubitable chronology of their *issue*, the successive changes of worship, and the introduction of new rites, according to the decay or revival of the several colonies. If the Greeks had possessed our means of coinage, modern museums would

[5] In the beautiful work entitled *Metaponte*, par. M. M. le Duc de Laynes, et F. J. Debacque. Folio. Paris, 1833.

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probably never have been enriched with so large a variety of coins; and the monetary remains of antiquity would have been less complete and less instructive."

But perhaps much of the comparative neglect which numismatic studies have met with in this country, as far as respects these higher and more comprehensive views of their scope and purpose, is to be traced to the want of sufficient means and inducements for their pursuit. In our national museum, although it is possessed of a valuable and extensive collection of coins and medals, there is not even the outline of such a selection or classification as might assist the student to trace by their means either the course of general history, or that of the history of art in particular. There is not, at the British Museum, for the purpose of *inviting* and *inducing* examination and study, any such display of the more generally interesting of its treasures, as has long existed in the Medal-cabinet of the Royal Library at Paris, and which is so arranged as to make it, I verily believe, absolutely impossible for even the most idly curious of its visitors to return without having acquired somewhat of really useful knowledge. Neither are there in our own museum such accessible *catalogues* as might be desired, and which, if supplied, would save a vast deal of time to those "men of research" who visit the collection in the progress of their labours.

I do not mention these undeniable deficiencies for the purpose of censure. Mere censure is not unfrequently as unjust as it is useless: and in the present case I know well that the fault is not with the officers of the museum, but has grown out of straitened means and other circumstances, which I hope and believe will ere long be remedied.

Then again, as to our numismatic publications, is there not much reason to fear that a large number of these have

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rather hindered than forwarded progress—keeping still in view the *historical and artistical uses* of the science? Have they not been frequently remarkable for their extreme insufficiency and inaccuracy?

But in truth, that important requisite is illustrated works —*accurate* representation has been hitherto a matter of extreme difficulty in respect of the smaller works of sculpture (*glyptique*), and especially of coins and medals. While a fine picture requires to be *translated* into the engraver's art rather than *copied*, the degree of success generally depending on the amount of harmony between the minds of the engraver and of the original painter, a medal or gem cannot be imitated too precisely; in them so much depends on minute touches, which are commonly lost or altogether changed, when imitated first by a draughtsman, and then by an engraver. In fact, the one thing needful, more especially for the purposes of the historical student, is to get *a faithful copy*. How rarely this has been, or can be attained by the ordinary modes of engraving, even with all the appliances of great talent and enormous expense, may be seen by turning to that work of admirable erudition, the *Iconography* of Visconti: compare some of his plates with the originals, or with exact casts of them; how much is added; how much altered; how many restorations merely conjectural are introduced. And then how vainly do you look for any indications of the actual and veritable *condition* of the monuments themselves at the time when they were delineated!

If then, it may be justly said, even of such publications as these, that while as works of art they are truly beautiful, as collections of the monuments of artistic history, they leave almost everything to be desired; how are we to describe the deficiencies of those which have not the former quality to boast of?

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We shall not then be thought to claim too much for the discovery—apparently almost simultaneous in several countries—of a means of faithfully reproducing those monuments, with all their beauties and with all their faults, to an illimitable extent, if we venture to predict that hereafter it will be thought not the least considerable—in so far as respects the fine arts—of the titles of the nineteenth century to the gratitude of posterity.

It should ever be borne in mind, that in this faithful reproduction of a multitude of the most important materials of art—history is the legitimate object and field of this mechanical relief-engraving. In the higher walks of art, it makes no pretensions to intrude itself. Here is its appropriate sphere.

Adding then, an invention like this, to those other causes which have been operating of late to the visible improvement of our numismatic publications, is there not much reason to hope that better things are at hand?

May we not hope that ere long England will cease to be WITHOUT A MEDALLIC HISTORY—and that even—in course of time—*an English artist* may be found capable of producing a medal worthy to celebrate the coronation of an English Queen?

But returning from this digression, to our immediate subject—the *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, we arrive at the third division of the work, in the class of ancient art, viz.:—

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

THIS work is still in course of publication, and we need say little more of it than that it deserves at least as much praise as the preceding, which, indeed, it excels in compre-

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hensiveness of plan, as well as in the ample development of its illustrative text. In the numismatics of the Greek kings, the illustrative notices too often fall short of that lucid and full explanation which is so essential to a work intended to be popular, and aiming at extensive utility; this fault was pointed out by an able foreign critic,[6] and we are glad to perceive by the improvement in the *Iconographie Romaine*, that the hint has been taken. Here each event or person commemorated by a medal or a gem is simply and clearly analysed, so that the work forms a collection of the historic vouchers of the period, with a running commentary upon them.

In the frontispiece, we have the grand eagle, from that magnificent sardonyx in the Vienna cabinet, which has been in the possession of the house of Austria since the time of the Emperor Rodolph II.: and in the second number, the famous cameo, also from Vienna, of the triumph of Tiberius, the largest as well as one of the finest left by antiquity. According to the tradition preserved by Gassendi, this gem was acquired in the Holy Land, by the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, from whom it was purchased by Philippe-le-bel, and presented to the abbey of Poissy; during the wars of the sixteenth century, it was carried off into Germany, where the Emperor purchased it for 12,000 ducats (probably equal to 14,000*l.* of our money). Since this period it has remained in the Vienna cabinet. The present engraving of it is very fine; and it may well excite our wonder, that a machine, even with all the advantage of the perfecting skill of an able engraver, should give the play of light and shade with such admirable effect, mark distinctly with different tints, the several faces of a cameo, and express with apparently equal success, the high relief

[6] M. Schœlcher.

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of some gems, and the extreme and delicate tenuity of others.

Passing over the series of Parthenon (or Elgin), and Phigalian marbles, which has been announced for republication in England, with some important modifications, we come to the second great division of the "*Trésor*" or that containing

Monuments of Middle-age and Modern Art.

If it be true that the history of art, by *its monuments*, has been too much neglected, generally, it is especially so with regard to that particular period of the history which extends from the decay of art about the fourth century, down to the dawn of its revival in the eleventh,—and indeed much later,—a period of little less than a thousand years. Monuments of the former part of this period, displaying a state of art, degraded indeed, but by no means devoid of interest, are to be found if searched for, but the search is difficult and laborious in a high degree, notwithstanding the labour of such men as Montfauçon, and his worthy brethren in France; of Dugdale and others in England, in collecting; and of D'Agincourt, and other recent writers, chiefly abroad, in examining and arranging the monuments collected. And, in truth, the early history of the revival itself, the works of the men of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are hardly less neglected, as to any continuous and comprehensive view of them, than are those of the darker ages. Yet what study can be more interesting than to watch the first appearances of improvement,—to perceive or return to nature as the model for imitation; to note the development of an intense devotion to art, as the handmaid of religion,—to look on men of every class, displaying anxiety for its cultivation and

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progress,—to see cities just emancipated from feudal bondage, vying with each other as much in arts as in arms,—to recognize everywhere a spirit of the most earnest and noble emulation.

The history of these early ages of the revival, and of those which preceded, must be sought from multifarious sources: among the most important are monumental effigies, bas-reliefs, seals, and coins. Many tombs still give us very fair ideas of the state, both of painting and sculpture at the time of their erection. Among those in France for instance, that of Dagobert, executed by order of Saint Louis, displays remarkable simplicity and naiveté of form; the draperies are really beautiful, those especially of the Christ in the pediment, and of the figures of Clovis II., and Queen Nantedield. A considerable number of tombs, porches, &c., and many single bas-reliefs of this period,—from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, still existing in France, are well deserving of attention for their sculpture; and thanks to the establishment by the French government of an office for the inspection of the National monuments of art and history, means are now taken for their efficient preservation. As M. Vilet, the able archæologist charged with the formation of a systematic catalogue of these monuments, and with the duty of pointing out to the government the best means for their future protection from decay, has at different times made valuable reports to the minister of the interior, on the progress of his labours, we may reasonably expect at no distant period to see a worthy collection of these important contributions, towards the history of art.

In this respect, too, there are few materials more interesting than the early SEALS of kings, barons, monasteries, corporations &c., which yet remain in considerable num-

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bers. In its second great division, the *Trésor de Numismatique* contains four collections of this kind: 1. The Seals of the Kings and Queens of England, from Edward the Confessor; 2. those of the Kings and Queens of France from Dagobert the First;—both of which are brought down to the present time and are completed; 3. the Seals of the great feudatories of the French Crown; and, 4. those of various municipal bodies, monasteries, &c. The two last are now in course of publication. These seals appear to be engraved with extreme fidelity, enabling us to trace step by step the progress of design with all the certainty of contemporary records. Generally it may be said, that those of the twelfth century and earlier are very stiff, and abound with emblems, chiefly religious. In the next century they have more breadth and freedom, often display good drawing, and a beautiful minuteness in the details, more or less well subordinated to the general effect of the design: in this last respect, and also for fineness of touch in the execution, the English seals have a decided superiority over the French of the same period, as the editor of the latter has himself remarked. Coming down to the fourteenth and succeeding centuries, we find them loaded with ornament, often grotesque and strangely combined. The draperies are sometimes extremely simple and graceful.

The Coins of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, offer vivid representations of the strife between sovereigns and barons;—between ecclesiastical power and the secular;—between the old imperial authority, and the rising spirit of independence; by which those ages were characterized. The coins of the prelates begin to bear the insignia of power; those of the cities assume their respective and peculiar types, and those of the emperors are

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more and more adorned with the emblems of their state, as their real power declined. But in respect of art, these coins are barbarous enough; and there is but little temptation to commence a Numismatic collection before the close of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Some authors indeed have given medals of the popes, almost without a break from Saint Peter downwards. But even those embraced within the few years between 1400, and the election of Martin V. *i. e.* Innocent VII. Gregory XII. John XIII. and Alexander V. are not contemporary, although they were probably struck after authentic portraits. The others are of course mere fabrications from portraits for the most part imaginary. The authentic medals of the popes, may therefore be considered as commencing with Martin V. (elected 1417,) of whom there is a medal by Pisanello, the renowned head of the Italian school of medallists. Of the works of this school, two series containing nearly an equal number, being *a selection* from the medals of the popes, are given in the *Trésor de Numismatique.* A finer Numismatic collection cannot be conceived; they not only present a beautiful series of portraits, but many of the reverses are admirable compositions.

The earliest medals, it must be remembered, which we meet with in bronze and silver, are nothing more than careful impressions of the ordinary seals retouched; the waxen seals being simply casts from a mould; although often, on important occasions, impressions in gold were attached to charters: when, at the revival of art, the beautiful portraits of the Roman emperors, excited the desire to produce, by a similar method, the effigies of the illustrious men of the age, the art of sinking dies in steel was yet unknown, as was also the coining press, to which alone we owe the

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perfection of our largest pieces. The artists, therefore, who were the first to attempt to imitate the medals of the ancients, went to work by the same process as the engraver of seals; their medals being, in fact, mere casts from moulds. But as the results of this process were coarse, and full of air bubbles and inequalities of surface, the artists or their pupils were compelled to retouch with the graver those impressions which were selected for the higher purpose.

This very imperfect mode of casting and chasing medallions, was the only one in use either in Italy or France, until the end of the fifteenth century. At the commencement of the sixteenth, Victor Camel, having invented the art of sinking dies in steel, the number of medals struck with the coining press soon exceeded that of the medals cast and chased, which however continued in partial use, during the whole of this century; and indeed at this very period Germany produced some examples of exceeding beauty. But it was in Italy, between 1440 and 1500, that the art most eminently flourished, and Victor Pisanello was its most celebrated professor.

Little more is known of this remarkable man, than that he was a Veronese, and had required great reputation as a painter. He may be said, indeed, to have disputed with Masaccio the glory of having given to painting the greatest impulse which it received during the fifteenth century. Vasari, and many others, especially commend him for having first dared to make bold foreshortings, and to design horses and other animals, with freedom and truthfulness. Pisanello's paintings have indeed almost entirely disappeared, but the reverses of his medallions abundantly verify the eulogiums which have been lavished upon him. Nothing, however, proves more fully his great influence upon his age, than the school of able engravers which he

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founded in Verona, the place of his nativity, and which became the means of diffusing the art amongst the neighbouring cities. It did not cross the Appenines until a later period.

In the seventeenth century, when the art of casting and chasing medallions had fallen into disuse throughout Italy, Dupré and Warin conferred new lustre upon it in France, which until their time had been content to follow Italy at a considerable distance; it was now fairly placed amongst the nations in the first rank of modern medallic art.

The first of these men, George Dupré, is known only by his works. It is plain, by the subjects he has treated, and the portraits we owe to his graver, that he enjoyed much favour with the illustrious men of the kingdom, and that his reputation extended even into Italy; but contemporary writers observe a strict silence concerning him, as they do concerning too many of the artists of that age.

Jean Varin, or Warin, who it is believed was the pupil of Dupré, was thought by Perrault worthy of being inserted in his list of illustrious men of France. From him we learn, that Warin was a Fleming; that having entered the service of the Count de Rochfort as a page, he was soon distinguished by Richelieu, who enabled him to obtain letters of naturalization, and entrusted to him the new coinage of the kingdom. From this period until his death (August 26, 1672) all the types of the French coins were executed by Warin, he having succeeded to the post of director-general of the French mint. At a later period, when the mint had been removed to the Louvre, he added to this title that of "Chief Engraver of Dies." He died by assassination at the age of sixty-eight.

The works of these great artists, distinguished alike by their number and their extraordinary merit, form of them-

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selves the second volume of the series of "French Medals, extending from Charles VII. to Louis XVII.," contained in the *Trésor de Numismatique;* the first volume bringing the art down to the period of Henry IV., and therefore including all the productions of *the revival*, the most important of which, as we have already observed, possess a real and important interest, as forming memorials both of the state of art, of events often involved in more or less obscurity, and of personages whose portraits they only, in many cases, have been the means of preserving to our own times. The present is the first complete collection of French medals ever made.

Of the Italian medals of the schools and of the popes, the first volume of the former series appears to be the most beautiful, though it is not an easy point to decide. The only fault we are disposed to find is with the text, which is not so ample and explanatory as it might have been made; and the objection applies perhaps with most force to the medals of the popes, in which we sometimes miss even the names of artists, which a little more research might have discovered,—a point which should not be passed over as unimportant. It has been justly observed, that the interest of a medal is much increased if, in meeting with it, we remember some biographical anecdote with which it is connected, as is the case, for instance, with the papal medal on plate vi., wherewith, as Cellini tells us in his Memoirs, he paid Clement VII. for pardoning the assassination of Pompeo, the goldsmith.

The next series of the *Trésor*, which we notice as applying chiefly, though not exclusively, to the middle ages, is the collection of bas-reliefs and ornaments, or "*Melanges Typoglyptiques*," which includes gems, armour, furniture, and carvings of various kinds.

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The first part of this work (in ten *livraisons*) contains about one hundred and forty subjects, comprised in forty plates. Of these somewhat more than half are works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and there are a few of earlier date, such as the cover of Charles the Bald's copy of the Evangelists; a carving in ivory, of the ninth century; the famous diptich of the consul Anastasius, in the sixth century, of which I shall speak presently, and other similar curiosities; there are also many specimens of Turkish, Persian, and Indian art. The armour of the sixteenth century, originally in the gallery of Sedan, engraved on plates xxi. xxii. and xxiii. are among the very finest examples I have ever seen, and would make admirable studies for design. The figures and ornaments are in bas-relief, and smooth; the ground is matted to increase the effect of relief. There is also, on plate iv., a very curious frontlet from a suit of armour which belonged to the Emperor Charles VI., now preserved in the Artillery Museum at Paris; and some fragments of another finely wrought suit, in the same Museum, ascribed to the Marshal de Thémines.

The diptich of the consul Anastasius, one of the most remarkable specimens, in an historical point of view, given in the work, was for a long period preserved in the cathedral of Bruges: at the Revolution, it was transferred to the Royal Library of Paris, and is now engraved on the seventeenth plate of the present work. Diptichs, or, as the Romans called them, *pugillares*, were, it will be remembered, in common use throughout the Roman empire as presents, interchanged among friends, especially at the commencement of the year; and among the persons whom usage laid under the obligation of sending these presents in considerable numbers, the consuls, who at that period

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entered upon the duties of their office, were, of course, prominent. When, under the empire, the consulate was reduced to little more than an honorary distinction, and the consuls chosen from amongst those citizens who could disburse the greatest sums in giving spectacles and largesses to the people, an obligation of this sort became still more rigorous; and the consular diptichs may fairly be considered as monuments of the first magistracy of Rome degraded to be the plaything of personal vanity.

"The consuls," says the editor of the *Trésor*, "distributed diptichs to the people; sent them to the senate of Rome, to the cities and churches, and to their friends and relatives in the provinces. Gaul, in common with other parts of the empire, received a great number of them: the magistrates, the churches, even the kings of the Franks, obtained them from Constantinople. The diptichs of Bruges and of Liege, belonging to the same consul, and to the same year (517), did not, it is true, form part of the presents sent in 508, by the Emperor Anastasius to Clovis, with the insignia of the honorary consulate; but a similar means may have brought into France others of the same kind. However this may have been, whether the churches became directly the depositaries of the consular diptichs, or the lay donors sent them, for pious reasons, to the metropolitan churches or convents, it is at least certain that from a very remote period, they were wont to be placed upon the altars, and to occupy a place of some importance in the celebration of the holy sacrifice. Perhaps a symbolic relation was established between the honours of the consul and the triumpher, represented in all their pomp upon the diptichs, and the honours, not less splendid, which the temporal power lavished on the priesthood: thus the pallium with which prelates were invested was borrowed from the

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consular vestment. It is also possible that the diptichs may have been adopted by the church only as objects of luxury and decoration; consecrated by the clergy to pious uses, as it had consecrated vases covered with the attributes of paganism, and adorned the shrines of saints with gems representing mythological scenes, or the portraits of the emperors. * * But without attempting to solve these difficult questions, it is sufficient for our purpose to state, as an acknowledged fact, that those diptiches were employed in the prayers and ceremonies of the church, and were used for the inscription of the formula of worship, of the names of saints invoked at the moment of consecration, and those of bishops mentioned in entreaties to God for the salvation of the departed faithful."

The diptich of Anastasius, distinguished by the name of the Bruges diptich, engraved in this work, bears only the names of the bishops, with the duration of the pontificate of each; the most ancient name, VRSINVS ·ANNOS· XXVII, being inscribed on the first leaf; that of Liege, besides a similar list of bishops, on one of its internal faces, contains on the other the prayer of oblation, and a list of the saints, protectors of the church. Saint Gregory (in his sacrament) gives the prayer for the defunct bishop, *super diptycha*, and the liturgists of the ninth century, such as Alcuin,[1] mention already as an ancient usage, *usus fuit antiquorum*, which the Roman church had preserved, that of reciting the names of the deceased from the diptichs. Many are the controversies we find recorded in the Concilia, as to whether or not the names of bishops who had disgraced themselves should be retained on these tablets.

The diptich of Bruges bears on its two external faces the

[1] De Dis. Off. xl.

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names and titles of the consul, whose liberality it commemorates; on the one side, FLAVIVS . ANASTATIVS· PAVLVS · PROBVS · SABINIANVS · POMPEIVS · ANASTATIVS; on the other, VIR · INLVSTRIS · COMES · DOMESTICORVM · EQVITVM . ET . CONSVL . ORDINARIVS. This profusion of proper names was in the taste of the Byzantine court; a way of proving nobility by recapitulating the names of ancestors. In this system, contrary to that of the Romans of the republic, the appellative name of the personage was placed the last, the name of his father immediately preceding it; the consul of these diptichs was named Anastasius, and was the son of Pompey. The titles preceding that of consul show the offices with which he had been invested prior to his elevation to the consulate.

These diptichs of Bruges and of Liege have served to correct an important error made by the early collectors of the consular records, on the authority of an inscription in the Justinian code, in placing a fourth consulate of the Emperor Anastasius, in 517, the 27th year of his reign. It has been made evident by their examination, that besides the three certain consulates of this emperor, there was indeed, during his reign, a fourth consulate in the same name, but that the last Anastasius was not the emperor, although one of the imperial family. Of the various conjectures concerning the precise place of this consul in the family, the present editor of the diptichs adopts that of Ducange,[1] and founds thereon his explanation of the figures seen upon the monument. This explanation, although interesting, would occupy too much space.

The twelfth plate presents a curious marriage-coffer, damasked or inlaid in gold and silver, from the cabinet of

[1] *Familles Byzantines*, p. 86.

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M. de Montville; but without a single descriptive or explanatory word in the text concerning either its subject, date, or history; a defect of which we have often to complain, the letter-press of this work being by far the least satisfactory of all that is before us. With such materials as the proprietors of the Trésor have at their command, and such means of turning them to the best account, it would have been much better to have formed two separate works, one for specimens of oriental art and other specimens of a miscellaneous character; the other exclusively for those which illustrate the art of the middle ages, and of the revival, which might then have had a systematic text, showing the real bearings of the several monuments upon the history of that art. Such a work would be valuable indeed, and would diffuse much truer notions as to the sources whence the men of the revival really drew their greatness, and as to the sort of patronage by which they were aided and encouraged in their labours, than are often met with.

But taking the present collection of these interesting monuments just as it is, it may safely be pronounced far superior to anything of the same kind which has hitherto appeared. Many articles contained in it I would gladly notice at greater length; but at present I must content myself with observing that, among the rest, a number of very choice cameos and intaglios, exquisitely engraved (plates xiii. to xvi.), some bas-reliefs, both curious and beautiful, chiefly of the sixteenth century (plates xxv. to xxviii.), and the very fine bas-reliefs from the bronze gates of Saint Peter's at Rome (plates xxix. to xxxii.) will deserve minute examination.

A second series of the work is now in course of publication, which may perhaps afford an opportunity of returning to the subject.

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The length to which this article has extended prevents me from noticing the third division of this great work, containing monuments of contemporaneous history, including a complete series of the very remarkable medals of the French Revolution of 1789. Another series, containing the medals of the Emperor Napoleon, and of the French empire, has been already introduced to the English public.

E. E.

XI.

PROPOSAL FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DECIMAL DIVISION IN MONEY.

By I. P. Cory, Esq.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, May 24, 1838.]

The introduction of a decimal division in weights and measures, and in money, has been a subject of frequent speculation: but the manifest advantages it presents have hitherto been very properly disregarded, as more than counterbalanced by the evils which would be inflicted by any tampering with the currency, and by the confusion which would be introduced among all contracts and accounts. But as the actual state of our coinage at the present moment affords some remarkable facilities, which are augmented by the commencement of a new reign, I cannot forbear submitting to public consideration a proposal, by which the decimal division may, without difficulty, be introduced into all monetary concerns, and at once adopted by all persons who may choose to take advantage of it; without the least interruption to others who prefer the present practice; without withdrawing a single coin

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from circulation; and without disturbing a single contract or account.

We have now in common circulation two different kinds of pennies: one of these, the common penny, is much smaller than the other, and weighs about four farthings; while the other, the great penny of George the Third, weighs more than five farthings, and is intrinsically worth at least a farthing more than the small penny; and the circumstance of these two pennies being in common circulation, affords the present facilities for adopting the decimal division.

The proposition is simply this,—to strike two new coins in silver, with new denominations—the first equal in value to two shillings, being one-tenth part of a pound, and the other equal in value to the tenth part of this two-shilling-piece, and to proclaim it equal to ten farthings; and to proclaim also that the great or old penny shall henceforth pass for five farthings, leaving the small penny still to circulate at four.

Most sovereigns have given their own names to any new coins which have originated in their reigns. And as the Jacobus, Louis, Napoleon, Paul, and Carlin are common coins, we might designate one of the proposed new coins, a Victorin. But upon the present occasion I shall, for perspicuity, denominate the two-shilling-piece a Florin, as the name of the foreign coin nearest in value, and, indeed, a name not unknown in the English coinage; and the other I shall at present call a Stiver,[1] though, in former times, the double-penny passed in the northern parts of this island under the name of a Bodle.

We should, then, by striking these two pieces, and such

[1] The Sterling was a coin once in use, and is an appropriate name for a silver coin.

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a proclamation, without further difficulty, have the coinage thus arranged:

10 Farthings = 1 Stiver.
10 Stivers = 1 Florin.
10 Florins = 1 Pound.

The Pound would therefore be equal to 10 Florins, to 100 Stivers, or 1000 Farthings.

The shilling would remain as the half florin, and 20 in the pound, and equal to 10 great pence; the sixpence as the quarter florin, equal to five great pence; the groat as the sixth, and the stiver as the tenth part of the florin. The great penny would be the half stiver of five farthings; the small penny would remain at four farthings; and the halfpenny would remain at two farthings.

This position, therefore, combines within itself both the new and the old system of notation. Every contract and account would remain precisely as they now stand. Every person might calculate in whichever notation he thought proper; and every transfer of an account from one system of notation into the other, could be effected with singular facility. The decimal division would gradually supersede the other without the slightest shock; and, notwithstanding the decimal division, it combines the practical advantage of having the silver coinage divided into halves, quarters, thirds, and tenths, and the copper divided into halves, quarters, thirds, and fifths.

The real and actual alteration, however, that is proposed in the coinage is this,—That the pound shall consist hereafter of 1000 farthings instead of 960; the florin, or two-shilling-piece, of 100 farthings, instead of 96; and, therefore, the shilling of 50 instead of 48; and, consequently, the change for the sixpence would be 25 farthings instead of 24. And this is a concern of very small importance; for the fact is,

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that the copper money, not being a legal tender, except for pence, is not current at its intrinsic, but at a conventional, value; and the silver sixpence is intrinsically worth about 36 farthings, instead of the 24 for which it nominally passes. And, indeed, practically, we are daily in the habit of receiving between 24 and 33 farthings for every sixpence that we change, according to whether the change consists of the small or the great pence; and it is rare that we do not receive 25 farthings for the sixpence: the alteration, therefore, in this respect, is practically of but little importance, especially when we recollect that in those retail concerns in which copper money is chiefly received, it is not uncommon to give for five shillings in silver 62 or 63 pence instead of 60.

I deem it scarcely necessary to advert to the manifest advantages resulting from the decimal division of the coinage; it clears away at once all the intricacies of the money sums, by reducing them to simple arithmetical sums, obviating the necessity of reduction and fractions in almost every case, and, in fact, rendering every arithmetical computation, in which shillings and pence are involved, as simple as if they were omitted; but in all transactions of foreign exchanges, interest, and accounts, affording facilities which can only be appreciated by commercial men. I need mention but one example to convey to every one a sense of its importance:—If we write down the first six integers, 1 2 3, 4 5 6, as a number, we put, between the 3 and the 4, a comma, cutting off the three last figures; and, supposing these six integers to express a sum of *money*, the same comma, or a point, will then divide the pounds from the fractional parts of a pound; and the same figures will express the sum in pounds, in florins, in stivers, or in farthings, without further adjustment or alteration, as 123 pounds, 4 florins, 5 stivers, and 6 farthings, or as 123,456

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farthings, or as 1234 florins, and 56 farthings, or in any terms we may think proper to express it. And if it be required to transfer this sum from the new to the old notation, it is done at once by taking the pounds as they stand, doubling the florins, and adjusting the farthings; and it stands at once, in the old notation, at 123*l.*, 8 shillings, and 56 farthings, that is, 14 pence, making 123*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* And the inverse reduction of this is performed by retaining the pounds, halving the shillings, and adjusting the farthings, viz. 123 retained as pounds, the half of 9*s.*[1] viz. 4, as the florins, and the residue, viz. 1*s.* 2*d.*, reduced into farthings, gives again the 56, which is the same as 5 stivers and 6 farthings as before.

I should be unwilling to close this paper without adverting to the advantage which might be derived from a general *convention* dollar of all the civilized kingdoms, bearing the insignia of each separate kingdom upon its obverse, and some general conventional symbol upon its reverse. And if we should coin a 4 shilling dollar, we should so nearly agree with the five franc piece, of France, the convention dollar current in Austria, Saxony, and Bohemia, and with the dollar of Sicily and Naples, that but little adjustment would be necessary between these kingdoms. With Spain and America, whose dollars are somewhat larger, and in greater circulation, more difficulty presents itself; but if England were to strike a 4 shilling dollar, it would not only facilitate our commerce as an instrument of exchange, but would eventually become the basis upon which a general convention dollar would ere long be current through the world.

[1] Whenever the shillings happen to be of an odd number, the sum carried to the farthings must of course always consist of 1*s.* or 48 farthings, rendering the transfer almost as easy, both ways, as if there was nothing carried.

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XII.

PENNY OF REGNALD.

For the drawing of the above interesting fragment we are indebted to the Very Reverend the Dean of Saint Patrick's, Dublin. Regnald is twice or thrice mentioned in the Chronicles, but very little is known of him or his reign. The first notice is A. D. 924, where he is called Reynold, the son of Guthfrith. In the year 944 he was, with Anlaf, driven out of Northumberland. The present fragment is of considerable interest, as it indisputably connects Regnald with Sithric and Anlaf, both kings of Dublin. A coin of Sithric, precisely similar to this, is figured in the Earl of Pembroke's Plates, and in the 11th plate of Ruding there is one (the only one known) of Anlaf, the son of Sithric. It is therefore very probable that the three coins are all of Irish origin.

XIII.

PENNIES OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Sir,

I beg to submit to you two pennies of William the Conqueror, or his son Rufus, though, in all probability,

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the appropriation to the father is the correct one. The first reads, PILLEMV · REX; reverse, S . . RIC, (perhaps Sodric) ON · GILDFRD: the other, PILLELM · REX · I.; reverse, ELFPINE · ON · RVDILI. Both bear the letters, P · A · X · S in the compartments of the cross, on the reverse; and both appear to be fresh from the die; the latter coin is particularly well struck up, and there can be no doubt as to the reading of either, as you will perceive on inspection.

These coins constituted a part of the Beaworth Treasure, so elaborately and ably described and analyzed by Mr. Hawkins, in the 26th volume of the Archæologia; and their portraits are similar to No. 9, in his plate, thongh the legends of the head-side differ from that example, which reads, PILLELM · REX.

I am not aware of any other specimen of a coin struck at Guildford, and apprehend that it furnishes the only existing proof of a mint having been worked at that place, which, under the Saxon monarchy, appears to have held more relative importance than at the present time. Camden says, that Guildford was a royal vill, and probably the residence of Alfred, where, at the time of his writing, were an old palace going to decay and the ruins of a large old castle with considerable outworks. The Conqueror states it, in his survey, to contain 75 *hagæ*, or houses, and 175 *homines;* but the establishment of a mint is not noticed.

In the Analysis of the Beaworth Treasure before alluded to, Mr. Hawkins ascribes to Huntingdon, a coin reading ELPINE · ON · HVDIN; but in a note observes, that the first letter resembling an R. as much as an H., it may be read, RVDIN. for Rhuddlaw, but that from the name of the moneyer, Huntingdon is the probable reading. The piece which accompanies this, distinctly reading, RVDILI, sets, I think, that question at rest, and restores the coin in

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the Museum to its true location. The names of the moneyers, *Jelfwine*, on HVT[1] (Huntingdon), and *Elfwine* on RVDILI, certainly resemble each other very closely, and may even be looked upon as identical, when the variations of Saxon orthography are considered; but the lengthened word *Rudili* shows the distinction between the two moneyers, and brings the more abbreviated coin to its actual mintage.

On looking at the list of mints, affording the Pax Type, as given by Mr. Hawkins, one is struck with the excess in their number, over those extracted by Ruding from Domesday Book. These amount to 25 only, whilst those (including Guildford and Rhuddlaw) extend to about 63, though there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of that extract. The mints of the Conqueror's almost immediate predecessors, Canute and Edward the Confessor, were almost as numerous as his; Ruding furnishing 53 locations for the one, and 55 for the other of those two monarchs, is the cause of this great diminution, attributable to the gradually declining state of the country under the Conqueror's general government, or to the devastation which he is said to have inflicted upon it after Guater's rebellion? If the latter surmise should be thought the most probable, it would afford an additional inducement to suppose that this type had been adopted immediately after the insurrection was put down, and before carrying into execution the vindictive measures then contemplated. The word *pax* might be only intended to lull the apprehensions of his subjects, and render them easier victims to the despot's vengeance. With respect to the orthography of this word on the Conqueror's

[1] By the bye, I have another of these pennies, tending to corroborate, if needful, the location of this piece to Huntingdon, by the addition of a letter; it reads, "JELFWINE ON HUTI."

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money, we possess a spelling of equal signification, perhaps, on that of the Confessor, who no doubt adapted the letters P · A · C · X to the pronunciation of the word *pax*, but for the evident purpose of filling up the quarters of the cross: so William, or rather his minister of all work, Lanfranc, omitting the C, added the S to "*pax*," in all probability with the like design, or it might be that the Italian archbishop had noticed a Quinarius of the Æmilia family, or a Denarius of Galba, respectively bearing that archaismus, or antiquated mode of spelling the word. J. B.

XIV.

CAST-DIES FOR MEDALS.

Sir,

Although I quite concur with you in the propriety of closing your door to the admission of further personalities respecting M. Pistrucci, I think you ought not to extend the prohibition to the discussion of the merits and efficiency of any process by which it is contended that the Numismatic art may be facilitated and improved. A process has been announced, by which it is said, that great improvements are to be effected in the production of medals. Your correspondent, J. W. B., asserts, that "its practical utility has been established, and that its originality remains unimpeached." I differ from him upon both points, but I do not mean to discuss the question of originality; it is by facts alone that it can be decided, and your columns are not the proper place for the discussion. My object at pre-

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sent is only with the efficiency and practical utility of the process; and if that is defective, there is very little chance of the imperfections being remedied unless they be clearly pointed out, and candidly admitted. The process has been described to the public by Mr. Hamilton, Mr. W. Baddeley, and J. W. B.; and I will here recapitulate the various steps of the process in which they all concur.

1. A wax model.
2. A plaster mould from the wax model.
3. A plaster cast from this mould.
4. A sand mould from the plaster cast.
5. An iron cast from the sand mould.
6. A steel die struck from the iron cast.
7. A medal struck from the steel die.

It is not necessary to advert to the modifications of this process, which the artist would adopt, in order to produce a die without the intervention of a punch, or to make a seal instead of a medal. The principle, in any case, is the same.

Having stated the various steps of the process, as described by the three gentlemen, let us see what each says as to the probable results. Mr. Hamilton says, it will "make the medal identically the same with the original model in wax, an operation by which the beauty and perfection of the master's design are at once transferred to any metal." "The work will in all points be, in an instant, an exact fac simile of the original conception of the artist, instead of representing, as at present, merely the handiwork of the engraver, copied from such original." "We may possibly be led by it to discover the mode by which the artists of antiquity succeeded in producing those beautiful coins, in which the softness and boldness of the fleshy parts have never yet been equalled by any modern engraver on steel."

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Mr. Baddeley magnifies by the veil of obscurity the importance of the process, observing, that "what the real value of this discovery is, or when the useful application of the fact then established will stop, it is at present wholly impossible to imagine." "One effect will be to make *die sinkers* more of *artists*, and less of *mechanics*, to wield the graver *less*, but the pencil *more skilfully*."

J. W. B. says, that as the die (i. e. the iron cast, according to his mode of describing the process,) "is a fac simile of the wax model, the medal itself will also be a faithful representation of the same original; and, in consequence, will exhibit all those delicate touches—will reflect all the feeling, and softness, and freedom of manipulation, which a good artist well knows how to impart to a plastic material such as wax, but which the rigid steel stubbornly resists, or unwillingly receives." He also suggests, "that we have at last discovered the means by which the ancients effected such wonders in this department of art."

Now, Sir, in the description of the process, we may admit that these gentlemen have spoken the truth, and nothing but the truth; but not one of them has spoken the whole truth. They have all omitted that part of the process which, in the present state of the arts, is necessary to produce a fine medal or seal, and which process at once annihilates all their beautiful visions of "fac similes of the wax model," "the delicate touches," "the feeling," "the softness," "the beauty and perfection of the master's design," which are important to a plastic material, but "which the rigid steel stubbornly resists." Upon reference to the description, it will be seen that the success of the process, the beautiful results promised to us, entirely depend upon the iron cast; the medal cannot be better than that cast; it is not probable that it will be *quite* so good. The three gen-

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tlemen all refer to the Berlin casts, in iron, as of great excellence, and I therefore conclude that those casts are the finest which have been produced in that metal; and that, consequently, we have no reason to look for medals produced by this process more perfect than the Berlin casts. I have taken some pains to see a great number of these Berlin productions, and, though they are of great beauty, I have not seen one which would satisfy me as a punch for a medal die, without being worked over entirely by the hand of the engraver, which would entirely annihilate the "delicate touches," "the fac simile," of the master's hand upon the plastic material, and reduce it to, what Mr. Hamilton calls, the "mere handiwork of the engraver." Mr. Hamilton, indeed, in his description, mildly observes: "Of course, it will be necessary, previous to the die being used, for the artist to polish the surface." This is a very tame and defective account of the operation which it would be necessary to perform upon even the most perfect Berlin cast I have ever had the good fortune to examine, in order to produce a satisfactory medal die. The very best would require to be entirely worked over; and I therefore consider the process to be inapplicable to medal-making, in the present state of our skill in the art of casting.

I am quite aware that this statement of my opinion may be met by the assertions of Mr. Baddeley, that "Pistrucci has perfected his process, and has recently made a valuable practical application of his invention;" also by the mention of "the exceedingly beautiful process now successfully matured;" and also by that of J. W. B., that "Pistrucci has *established* the practical utility of his invention." The practical application here referred to by those gentlemen, is the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, in which Mr. Baddeley says, "there is an exquisite softness and boldness of

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relief, in many parts of this seal, not attainable in an *engraved* die." Now, Sir, the Lancaster seal is so far from being a proof of the success of the process, as described by those gentlemen, that it is a proof that the entire working over of the iron cast, which they have omitted to mention, is absolutely necessary. The seal is the result of *engraving*, and whatever "exquisite softness," &c. &c., it possesses, was attained by *engraving*. Mr. Hamilton frequently exhibited the iron cast, and the die made from it; it was unfinished, but the cast had been worked over in all parts, except where the depressions in the cast had not left metal enough to work upon; these depressions in the cast would, of course, occasion deviations in the die, which must have been removed by the engraver, so that in the specimen so triumphantly produced by Mr. Hamilton, it was necessary to engrave both upon the cast and upon the die. The Lancaster seal, then, in its present state, was not produced by this process; and Pistrucci himself must have been so well satisfied that the process had not yet been "successfully matured," that he did not use it in his execution of the coronation medal.

Lamenting and disapproving the tone which has been assumed in the discussion of the merits of this process, and especially the unjust and unfounded aspersions upon the family of the chief engraver at the Mint, so unnecessarily introduced, I have hesitated to address you upon the subject. But thinking that it would be useful, especially to young artists, to caution them against being misled by the strong expressions of partial friends, I have wished to make them acquainted with the whole truth, that they may not be discouraged if they should fail to produce, by the process as described, the same smoothness of surface which they may perceive upon impressions from the Lancaster

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seal. I wish, also, to turn their attention most strongly to the subject of casting, because upon it depends entirely the success of the process. When we can produce a cast in hard metal, possessing the sharpness, freshness, and polish of a well-struck medal, we may then, but not till then, consider the process, be it new or old, as "successfully matured."

CAUTUS.

XV.

THE COINS OF CARAUSIUS AND ALLECTUS.

THE numerous coins struck by Carausius and his successor in Britain, deserve more attention than has hitherto been bestowed on them. It is worthy of observation, that although the career of Allectus was short, his coins are not only as numerous but, upon the whole, are of better execution than those of his predecessor. Many coins of Carausius are so utterly barbarous as to raise doubts whether they were struck by his authority or executed by illiterate forgers in remote parts of the island. Vaillant, remarking on the types of the money of Allectus says "Fortasse Monetarii festinantes typo aversæ partis nummorum Carausii usi sunt."* Of this, however, we require proof. That such a practice was common in the Roman mint at the period in question there cannot be a doubt, but the coins of Allectus do not bear so close a resemblance to those of

* *Num. Imp. Rom.* tom. iii. p. 67.

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Carausius, as the latter bear to the coins of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian. Gold coins of Carausius are of exceeding rarity: six types are known, but only one is to be found in the collection of the British Museum, and this was originally purchased at a very high price. No private collection in England can boast a gold coin of Carausius. Seven types in gold are known of Allectus; and some of these are in the cabinets of English collectors. Gold coins of Allectus have been found in England, but I am not aware, that a gold coin of Carausius has been discovered in any part of the island. From this circumstance. as well as from the peculiar style and fabric of the very fine gold coin of Carausius in the British Museum, I am led to conjecture that it was minted at Boulogne, before that place surrendered to Constantius Chlorus.

A.

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MISCELLANIES.

The New Coinage.—From the Gazette.

By the Queen—a Proclamation.

Victoria, R.—Whereas we have thought fit to order that certain pieces of gold money should be coined, which should be called five-pound pieces, each of which should be of the value of one hundred shillings, and that each such piece should be of the weight of twenty-five pennyweights, sixteen grains, and 3700-10000 troy weight, of standard gold; and that certain other pieces of gold money should be coined, which should be called double sovereigns, each of which should be of the value of forty shillings, and that each of such last-mentioned pieces should be of the weight of ten pennyweights, six grains, and 5480-10000 troy weight, of standard gold; and that certain other pieces of gold money should be coined, which should be called sovereigns, each of which should be of the value of twenty shillings, and that each of such last-mentioned pieces should be of the weight of five pennyweights, three grains, and 2470-10000 troy weight, of standard gold; and that certain other pieces of gold money should be coined, which should be called half sovereigns, each of which should be of the value of ten shillings, and that each of such last-mentioned pieces should be of the weight of two pennyweights, thirteen grains, 6370-10000 troy weight, of standard gold: and we have further thought fit to order, that every such five-pound piece should have, for the obverse impression, our effigy, with the inscription, "Victoria Dei Gratia," and the date of the year; and, for the reverse, the ensigns armorial of the United Kingdom, contained in a plain shield, surmounted by the Royal crown, and encircled with a laurel wreath, with the inscription, "Britanniarum Regina, Fid. Def.," having the united rose, thistle, and shamrock placed under the shield, and, upon the edge of the piece, the words, "Decus et Tutamen," and the words, "Anno Regni," and the year of our reign; and that every such double sovereign should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription in all respects as the five pound piece, with the same words on the edge; and that every such sovereign should have the same obverse and reverse impression in all respects as the five-pound piece, but (instead of the words) should have a graining on the edge; and that every such half-sovereign should have for the obverse impression the aforesaid effigy, inscription, and date, and for the reverse the ensigns armorial, contained in a shield decorated with the same inscription as the five-pound piece, but without the wreath, and should have the same graining upon the edge as the sovereign; and we have also thought fit to order, that certain pieces of silver money should be coined which should be called crowns, and that every such crown should have the same

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obverse and reverse impression and inscription in all respects as the five-pound piece, with the same words on the edge; and that certain other pieces of silver money should be coined, which should be called half-crowns, and that every such half-crown should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription as the crown, but, instead of the words, a graining upon the edge; and that certain other pieces of silver money should be coined, which should be called shillings, and that every such shilling should have, for the obverse impression, the aforesaid effigy, with the inscription, "Victoria Dei Gratia, Britannia: Reg. F. D.," and, for the reverse, the words, "One Shilling," placed in the centre of the piece, having an olive branch on one side, and an oak branch on the other, and surmounted by the Royal crown, with the date of the year, and a graining on the edge, as used for his late Majesty's coin; and that certain other pieces of silver money should be coined, which should be called sixpences, and that every such sixpence should have the same obverse impression and inscription as the shilling, and, for the reverse, the word "Sixpence," with the olive and oak branch, and date of the year, with a graining upon the edge the same as the shilling; and that certain other pieces of silver money should be coined, which should be called groats or fourpences, and every such groat or fourpence should have the same above impression and inscription as the shilling, and should have for the reverse a figure of Britannia holding the trident in one hand, and having the other hand placed upon a shield impressed with the union cross, and should have round the figure the words "Four Pence" and the date of the year below, with a graining on the edge, as used for his late Majesty's coin; and that certain other pieces of silver money should be coined, which shall be called the Queen's Maunday moneys, of fourpence, threepence, twopence, and one penny, each of which should have the same obverse impression and inscription as the shilling, and for the reverse the respective figures 4, 3, 2, 1 (according to the denomination or value of the piece) in the centre, with the date of the year placed across the figure, and encircled by an oak wreath, surmounted by the Royal Crown, with a plain edge, as used for his late Majesty's coin; all which said silver coin we have ordered to be of the weight and fineness provided by an Act passed in the fifty-sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, intituled, "An Act to provide for a new Silver Coinage, and to regulate the Currency of the Gold and Silver Coin of this Realm;" and We have also thought fit to order, that certain pieces of copper money should be coined, which should be called pennies, and that every such copper penny should have for the obverse impression the aforesaid effigy, with the inscription, "Victoria Dei Gratia," and the date of the year; and for the reverse, a figure of Britannia holding the trident with one hand, and having the other hand placed upon a shield impressed

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with the union cross, with the inscription, "Britannia Reg. Fid. Def.," and below the figure, the united Rose, Shamrock, and Thistle, with a plain edge, as used for his late Majesty's coin; and that certain other copper money should be coined, which should be called halfpennies, and that every such halfpenny should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription, and the same plain edge as the penny; and that certain other copper money should be coined, which should be called farthings, and that every such farthing should have the same obverse and reverse impression and inscription, and the said plain edge as the penny. And whereas pieces of money of the above description respectively, have been coined at our Mint, and will be coined there in pursuance of orders which we have given for that purpose, we have, therefore, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, thought fit to issue this our Royal proclamation; and we do hereby ordain, declare, and command, that the said pieces of money respectively so coined, and to be coined, as aforesaid, shall be current and lawful money of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the said gold coins shall be called respectively five pound pieces, double sovereigns, sovereigns, and half sovereigns; and that the said silver coins shall be called respectively crowns, half crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, or fourpences, and the Queen's Maunday moneys; and the said copper coins shall be called pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, and shall pass and be received as current and lawful money of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; every such five-pound piece as of the value of one hundred shillings of like lawful money, and every such double sovereign as of the value of forty shillings of like lawful money, and every such sovereign as of the value of twenty shillings of like lawful money, and every such half sovereign as of the value of ten shillings of like lawful money; every such crown as of the value of five shillings of like lawful money; every such half crown as of the value of two shillings and sixpence of like lawful money; every such shilling as of the value of twelve pence of like lawful money; every such sixpence as of the value of six pence of like lawful money: every such groat or four pennypiece as of the value of four pence of like lawful money; the said Maunday moneys of the value of four pence, three pence, two pence, or one penny, respectively, as the case may be, and every such penny of copper as of the value of one penny of the like lawful money; and every such halfpenny as of the value of one halfpenny of like lawful money; and every such farthing as of the value of a farthing of like lawful money, in all payments whatsoever.—Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, this fifth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, in the second year of our reign. GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

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German Currency.—It is known, that through the uncontrolled emission of coinages variously debased by some of the petty German States composing part of the Prussian custom-house union, great loss and inconvenience were experienced by the foreign and native traders, and the community in general, throughout Germany and Prussia. Some of the Princes at the head of these small provinces are said to have cleared large sums by the issue and compulsory circulation of this spurious currency, which, after so issuing, they refused to receive back from the people, in the shape of taxes, or otherwise, at the same rate of value at which it was issued. In consequence of the complaints which naturally arose, the subject was taken up by the leading parties of the confederacy, and brought before the Assembly of Delegates, sitting at Dresden, upon its general affairs. By them it was referred to a committee charged to agree upon a coinage which should be common and current in the whole commercial confederation of the States, and of one equal and determined standard of value. According to advices from Dresden of the 21st ult., it appears that no result had yet been arrived at further than the issue of a coin of the value of two German crowns, or three and a half Rhenish florins, having on the one side the arms of the State struck off, and on the other the words, "Federation Money."

Affairs of the Royal Mint.—The New Coronation Medal.—On the 9th of July, a vote of 3,703*l.* was proposed in parliament to defray the expenses of the several branches of the Mint. In reply to some observations from Mr. Clay,

Mr. Labouchere said, that the execution of the late coronation medal had been intrusted to Signor Pistrucci, medal engraver to the Queen, an artist who enjoyed a high, and, he believed he might say, a well-merited reputation in this department of art. He need only refer to the medal for the coronation of George IV. to show how capable Signor Pistrucci was to do justice to such a subject. He felt bound to admit, however, which he did most fully, that the present medal was not executed in the manner which might have been expected, and which the occasion certainly merited; but this, he believed, was owing to this single circumstance, namely, the total deprivation of sight which Signor Pistrucci had suffered during the last fortnight he was engaged upon it. Signor Pistrucci, he was aware, felt very sorely on the subject, and had written to him (Mr. Labouchere) a letter, stating how sensible he was that the medal was not such a one as was due to the country on this auspicious occasion.

Mr. Hume said, he thought it a great pity that these medals should not be put into the pot again, and something worth having produced out of them—[a laugh]. He was sorry for the accidents which had befallen the artist; but really this was an occa-

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sion, if ever one existed, when a fine work of art should be produced. He had last night compared the medal of George IV. with the new medal, and he must say he was ashamed to show them together. The penny medals which were sold in the streets were as good in many respects. The lion's head, for instance, on the reverse, was most disgraceful. He should be sorry, for the honour of the country, that such a thing should get distributed in foreign countries; and, therefore, he did hope to hear that all that had been distributed should be recalled, and something given out in their stead worthy of the arts of the country. Before he sat down he wished to know whether there was any likelihood of a coinage of silver threepenny and twopenny pieces for general circulation? The fourpenny pieces had been found extremely convenient; and he thought the principle might be extended with advantage.

Mr. Labouchere said, with respect to the issue of silver pieces of less value than fourpence, that they were coined, as was well known, only for use as Maunday money; and he should be sorry to see that practice discontinued, as the silver penny, he believed, was the most ancient penny in existence. He did not think, however, that there could be any advantage in coining silver pieces smaller than fourpence for general circulation. He thought the fourpenny pieces were low enough in value to answer all the purposes of commerce. With regard to the coronation medal, he must say he thought the Hon. Member for Kilkenny had dealt rather harder with it than it deserved. He would only mention that such was the success of the same artist with the medal of George IV. that the whole expense of preparing it was returned by the profit from the sale of the medal itself,

Mr. Warburton said, that if the Committee on the Mint department had been renewed, as had been expected, the unfortunate failure of the coronation medal would probably not have taken place.

Mr. Labouchere observed, that he had been anxious for the renewal of the committee in question; but in consequence of the illness of one of the heads of the departments, whose advice and experience would have been of great value, it was thought better not to do so.

Mr. Warburton *bore testimony to the great improvement which had been effected in the coinage.*

Mr. Slaney thought it would be desirable to have a smaller gold coin than half a sovereign. He was of opinion that 6*s*. 8*d*. would be a good sum to fix upon.

83,212*l*. was then proposed for retired allowances and compensation.

State of Numismatic Knowledge in England.—In a useful little volume just published on the "History and Geography of

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Greece," the writer, in noticing the famed city of Rhodes, and its colossal statue of the sun, adds, with becoming caution, "and Rhodian coins are said to be still extant, exhibiting on the one side the rose, and on the other the sun." Any dealer in coins will show this gentleman a score of these pieces, which *ought* to be *well known* to a writer on classical antiquities. In the "*Pictorial History of England*," a large brass coin of Caracalla is described, and engraved as of Antoninus Pius! It will scarcely be believed that the editor of a work of such pretensions could be so destitute of historical knowledge as not to know that the surname of *Antoninus* was borne by several of the Roman emperors, or that his antiquarian acquirements were so limited as to cause him to mistake the ferocious, snarling countenance of the tyrant Caracalla for the calm, philosophic aspect of Antoninus: yet such is the fact, and this is to be "the people's book." Is the forthcoming "*Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare*" to be illustrated under the superintendence of the same gentleman? H. W. D.

French Numismatic Prize.—At the August meeting of "*L' Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*," the Numismatic Prize was awarded to Mr. Millingen, for his Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins. For a review of this work, see Numismatic Journal, Vol. II. p. 81.

French Medals.—It is so seldom our agreeable duty to have to notice Numismatic works, or even works having a Numismatic tendency, that we cannot afford to pass without comment an unpretending little work, lately issued, bearing the following title: "*A Brief Descriptive Catalogue of the Medals struck in France and its Dependencies, between the Years* 1789 *and* 1830, *contained in the British Museum; with the Deficiencies noted.*" By the Editor of "The Napoleon Medals." [Edward Edwards.] London: 8vo. 1837. [Not printed for sale.]

The nature and use of this "Descriptive Catalogue" (and it is really nothing more) are so obvious from the title, that little can be said respecting it beyond what must occur to every reader. Mr. Edwards states, that what he had principally in view in writing was, "to show that it would be easy for the British Museum to publish such brief lists of several parts of the various collections, and more especially of the coins and medals, as would be of considerable service, pending [!] the publication of fuller catalogues, requiring more careful and deliberate preparation." This motive is laudable, and entitles the author to our gratitude; but if by a "brief list.....pending a fuller catalogue," Mr. Edwards means such a description of a coin as the following:—"*No.* 14.—*Date:* Aug. 16, 1804.—*Size:* 40″.—*Description of Piece:* Medal.—*Occasion on which struck:* Distribution of decorations at the camp of Boulogne. Oath of the "Army of England."—

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Description, &c. of the Obverse: HONNEUR · LEGIONNAIRE · AUX · BRAVES · DE · L'ARMEE. Napoleon on a curule chair, distributing the decorations. *Exergue:* A · BOULOGNE · LE · XXVIII · THERM · AN · XII · XVI · AOUT MDCCCIV. Jeuffroy.—*Description, &c. of the Reverse:* Plan of the position of the Army, with references to the numbers in the Exergue. *First Exergue:* SERMENT · DE · L'ARMEE · D'ANGLETERRE · A · L'EMPEREUR · NAPOLEON. *Second Exergue:* No. 1. CAVALERIE; 2. INFANTERIE; 3. GENEREAUX; 4. DRAPEAUX; 5. LEGIONNAIRES; 6. GARDE · DE · L'EMPER^{EUR}; 7. MUSI^{ENS} · E^{T} · T^{BOURS}; 8. E^{T} · M^{OR} · D^{s} · C^{s} · 9. E^{T} · M^{OR} · G^{RAL}; 10. LETRONE; Jaley;"—if, we say, the author considers such a description as *this* brief, we fear the publication of "fuller catalogues" will be "*pending*" for a longer space of time than we shall like to wait for them. The preceding extract is not unkindly given, however. We wish to afford a specimen of the labour which has been bestowed on the little work before us; and as regards Mr. Edwards' main object, he is fortunately aware, that "the most earnest endeavours of the Trustees, and the most assiduous exertions of the Officers, of the British Museum (and of late there have been repeated evidences of both), will be insufficient, unless a more worthy and liberal pecuniary supply be accorded by the Government."

Monnaies Royales de France.—It is with much pleasure we acknowledge the receipt of M. Conbrouse's specimen of the *Description des Monnaies Royales de France*, a work which he had conceived the project of composing, and to which he had devoted himself with assiduity and zeal. He was eagerly proceeding, when his progress was arrested by a sense of his inability to carry through an undertaking of so great magnitude. He abandoned the attempt; but having become possessed of a fine series of the coins of Mary of Scotland and France, he has made them the subject of this "specimen" of the contemplated work.

He was also desirous of giving at the same time five-franc pieces of the greatest variety. One of Baden, with the head of Napoleon, he describes minutely in the specimen, and takes occasion to remark on the great and incalculable benefit that would ensue to commerce from the decimal system, which Napoleon was the means of spreading so extensively; and does not hesitate to pronounce, that the result would infallibly be – uniformity of money, weight, and measure —unanimity of interest—and the establishment of a permanent and universal peace.

He appears to be an able, industrious, and accurate Numismatist; but we cannot help remarking, in passing, that such themes as Mary Stuart and Napoleon were not to be approached without disturbing the equilibrium of a mind possessed, as M. Conbrouse's seems to be, with rather romantic notions of history.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The Society again met on THURSDAY THE 21st JUNE—

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Presents of books, coins, and casts having been announced, Mr. John Williams delivered a Lecture on the Mode of taking Casts of Coins and Medals in Sulphur.

Mr. Samuel Birch read a paper on the Coins of Caracalla and Geta, with the head of the latter erased, struck at Pergamus and Stratonicæa.

The Marquis Spineto,
Sir John Doratt,
Captain Hely, residing at Rome,
James Fraser, Esq.
E. Nelson Alexander, Esq.
W. H. Morrison, Esq., of the Royal Mint,
E. J. Powell, Esq., Solicitor to the Mint,
Robert Fox, Esq., of Godmanchester,
George Etherly, Esq.
P. Hardwicke, Esq.
Were elected Members of the Society.

The President then gave notice from the Chair, that the Annual General Meeting of the Society would be held on Thursday the 19th July, at 3, P.M.; and that the Ballot for Officers for the ensuing Session would commence at 4 o'clock, and close at 5.

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THURSDAY THE 19TH JULY.

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

The members having assembled, the ballot for the officers of the Society was opened, and the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

John Lee, Esq. LL.D. F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.

Thomas Burgon, Esq.—Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S.

Treasurer.

Dr. Lee.

Secretaries.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq., F.S.A.—Francis Hobler, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N; K.S.F; F.R.S.

Librarian.

W. D. Haggard, Esq. F.S.A. & F.R.A.S.

Council.

C. F. Barnewell, Esq. F.R.S.; F.S.A.
J. D. Cuff, Esq. F.S.A.
Isaac Cullimore, Esq. M.R.S.L.
Edwin Guest, Esq. *Fellow of Caius College*, Cambridge.
Edward Hawkins, Esq. F.R.S.; F.S.A.
J. W. Morrison, Esq. Royal Mint.
Samuel Sharpe, Esq.
Colonel C. R. Fox.
H. H. Wilson, Esq. *Boden Professor of Sanscrit*, Oxford.
William Wyon, Esq. R.A.

A statement of the affairs of the Society was read, by which it appears that a considerable sum remains in the hands of the Treasurer.

The President then delivered an address, in which he took a review of the labours of the Society during the past Session.

The Society then adjourned to Thursday, the 18th of November.

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The following is the List of the Members at this time:—

Honorary Members.

Algernon, Lord Prudhoe, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Captain J. J. F. Hely, *Rome*.

Members.

Akerman, J. Y., Esq., F.S.A. L. & E.
Alexander, John Nelson, Esq.
Allen, John, Esq.
Ashlin, Henry, Esq.
Atherley, George, Esq.

Baily, Francis, Esq. D.C.L., President R.A.S., V. P. & Treasurer R.S., F.G.S., M.R.I.A. &c.
Barker, E. H. Esq.
Barnewell, C.F. Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Bate, John, Esq. Jun.
Bergne, J. B. Esq.
Betham, Sir William, M.R.I.A.
Benson, Robert, Esq.
Bingley, Henry, Esq.
Birch, Samuel, Esq.
Bishop, George Esq. F.S.A., F.R.A.S.
Bonomi, Joseph, Esq.
Bowler, Lieutenant Colonel,
Boyne, Robert, Esq.
Brandreth, William Henry, Esq. Jun. F.S.A.
Brice, Rev. Edward C.
Bristoll, T. Esq.
Brooke, William Henry, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.
Brown, William Henry, Esq.
Brumell, John, Esq.
Burgon, Thomas, Esq.
Burgon, John William, Esq.
Burney, Dr. C.P., D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.
Burton, James, Esq.
Bute, The Most Noble the Marquis of, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.A.S.

Chambers, Montague, Esq.
Children, JohnGeorge, Esq. V.P.R.S., F.R.S.E., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S.
Corner, George R. Esq. F.S.A.
Cory, Robert, Esq. F.S.A.
Cuff, James Dodsley, Esq. F.S.A.
Cullimore, Isaac, Esq. M.R.S.L.
Cureton, Harry, Esq.
Cust, Richard, Esq.

Davis, Arthur, Esq.
Dawson, The very Rev. H. R., Dean of St. Patrick's.
Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of
Diamond, F. H. Esq.
Diamond, H. W. Esq. F.S.A.
Dickinson, Binley, Esq.
Dilke, Charles W. Esq. LL.B.
Doratt, Sir John, M.D.
Doubleday, John, Esq.

Edmonds, Christopher, Esq.
Ellis, Sir Henry, K.H., B.C.L., Sec. S.A., M.R.J.A.

Field, Henry William, Esq.
Field, John, Esq.
Firmin, R. S. Esq.
Fox, Colonel C. R.
Fox, Robert, Esq.
Fraser, James, Esq.
Freebairn, Alfred R. Esq.
Freeman, John, Esq.

Gage, John, Esq. M.A., Director S.A., F.L.S.
Giles, Rev. John Allen, M.A., F.S.A.
Gilbert, Davies, Esq. D.C.L., V.P.R.S. Hon. M.R.S.L., Hon. M.R.I.A., F.S.A., F.L.S., V.P.G.S., F.R.A.S.
Goodall, Rev. Dr., Provost of Eto College.
Gompertz, Benjamin, Esq., F. R. S., F.R.A.S.
Glenny, George, Esq.
Goldsmid, Isaac Lyon, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., M.R.S.L.
Guest, Edwin, Esq.
Green, T. A. Esq. F.S.A.

Haggard, W. D. Esq. F.S.A., F.R.A.S.
Hamilton, William Richard, Esq. President R.G.S., F.R.S., M.R.S.L. V.P.S.A. &c.

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Hawkins, Edward, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S.
Hardwick, Philip, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
Hawksley, Rev. J. W.
Hearne, John, Esq.
Hincks, Rev. Edward, D.D.
Hobler, Francis, Esq.
Hodges, William Robert, Esq.
Hollier, Richard, Esq. F.S.A.
Horsefield, Dr.
Hunt, Rev. Philip, F.S.A., F.R.A.S
Huxtable, John, Esq.

Janson, Joseph, Esq.
Jerdan, William, Esq. F.S.A.
Jones, William Hanbury, Esq.
King, Thomas, William, Esq. F.S.A. *Rouge Dragon.*

Landmann, Col. George.
Leake, Col. William Martin, F.R.S. M.R.S.L. &c.
Lee, John, L.L.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Treasurer R.A.S.
Littlewood, George, Esq.
Loscombe, C. W. Esq.

Mackie, Rev. John William, M.A., F.R.S.
Maitland, William Fuller, Esq.
Martin, Rev. Joseph William.
Martin, Montgomery, Esq.
Morrison, James William, Esq,
Morrison, William Hampson, Esq.
Marshall, George, Esq.
Montefiore, Sir Moses, Knt. F.R.S.
Moyes, James, Esq. F.R.A.S.
Mullins, Edward, Esq.
Musgrave, Sir George, Bart. F.S.A.
Mutlow, James, Esq.

Newman, John, Esq. F.S.A.
Nichols, J. B. Esq. F.S.A.
Nichols, J. G. Esq. F.S.A.
Nicolas, Sir Harris, K.C.M.G.
Nightingale, Benjamin, Esq.

Pettigrew, T. J. Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., M.R.A.S.
Pettigrew, W. V. Esq.
Pfister, J. G. Esq.
Philpott, Rev. Henry,
Pickering, William, Esq.
Powell, Edward James, Esq.
Pretty, Edward, Esq.
Purland, Theodosius, Esq.

Reade, Rev. J. B. M.A., F.R.S.
Renouard, Rev. G. C.
Rhodes, Abraham, Esq.
Robson, Harry, Esq.
Rogers, Samuel, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
Rowe, G. R. Esq. M.D., F.S.A.
Rutter, John, Esq.

Saull, W. D. Esq. F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.A.S.
Scratton, D. R. Esq.
Scriven, Mr. Serjeant,
Sharpe, Samuel, Esq. F.G.S.
Smee, William, Esq.
Smee, William Ray, Esq.
Smith, Benjamin, Esq. F.R.A.S.
Smith, C. R. Esq. F.S.A.
Smith, E. O. Esq. F.S.A.
Smyth, Capt. W. H., R.N., K.S.F., Foreign Secretary R.S., M.R.I.A., F.S.A., Foreign Sec. R.A.S.
Sotheby, Leigh, Esq.
Spencer, Edward, Esq. F.G.S.
Spineto, The Marchese di
Spurrier, Thomas Henry, Esq.
Stevenson, Seth, Esq.
Stratford, Lieutenant, W. S. R.N., F.R.S., F.R.A.S.

Taylor, Richard, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S. &c.
Taylor, William, Esq.
Till, William, Esq.
Tonna, Lewis, H. J.
Turnor, Rev. Charles, F.R.A.S.

Varley, B. M. Esq.

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Wansey, William, Esq. F.S.A.
White, W. A. A, Esq. F.R.S.
White, James, Esq.
Wigan, A. Esq.
Willett, R. Esq.
Williams, John, Esq.
Wilson, E. Esq. Jun.
Wilson, H. H. Esq. Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford, F.R.S., M.R.A.S.
Windus, Thomas, Esq., F.S.A.
Wyon, Benjamin, Esq.
Wyon, William, Esq. R.A., F.S.A.

Yeates, Thomas, Esq.

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Associates.

Barker, John, Esq. *Syria.*
Cartier, M. Edouard, *Amboise.*
Dietrichstein, Count M. von, *Vienna.*
Dumersan, The Chevalier Marion, *Paris.*
Greville, Mons. C. De,
Gesenius, William, *Halle, Prussia.*
Grote, Dr. H. *Hanover.*
Grotefend, Dr. G. F. *Hanover.*
Lelewel, Joachim, *Brussels.*
Leemans, Dr. Conrad, *Leyden.*
Mionnet, The Chev. T. E. *Paris.*
Saulcy, M. F. de, *Metz.*
Saussaye, M. L. de la, *Blois.*
Straszewicz, Joseph, *Brussels.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

We are favoured with Mr. Rolfe's kind communication. The gold coin is clearly a barbarous imitation of one of the Merovingian series. We were led to this conclusion on our first inspection of his very accurate cast; and on comparing it with some of the ruder types of the series above-mentioned, are confirmed in our opinion.

The coin of Harold, of which our Northampton correspondent has sent us a very clever drawing, is not remarkable. The Carausius is of the same type as that which led Stukeley into his absurd speculations on "Oriuna."

"C. R. S.'s" coins are, 1. A billon denier of one of the earls of Blois, struck at Chartres, in the 12th century; 2. An episcopal denier of Cologne.

"E. H." We are sorry that J. W. B., the initials of the writer, were omitted to be appended to the paragraph on the coronation medal in the 'Miscellanies' of our last number.

M. Lienard will accept our apology for not having noticed the receipt of his interesting dissertation, which we had mislaid. We may recur to the subject in a future number.

ERRATA.

Page 67, *line* 17, *for* really is, *read* recalls in
— 25, *for* nobili, *read* nobile (in some copies)

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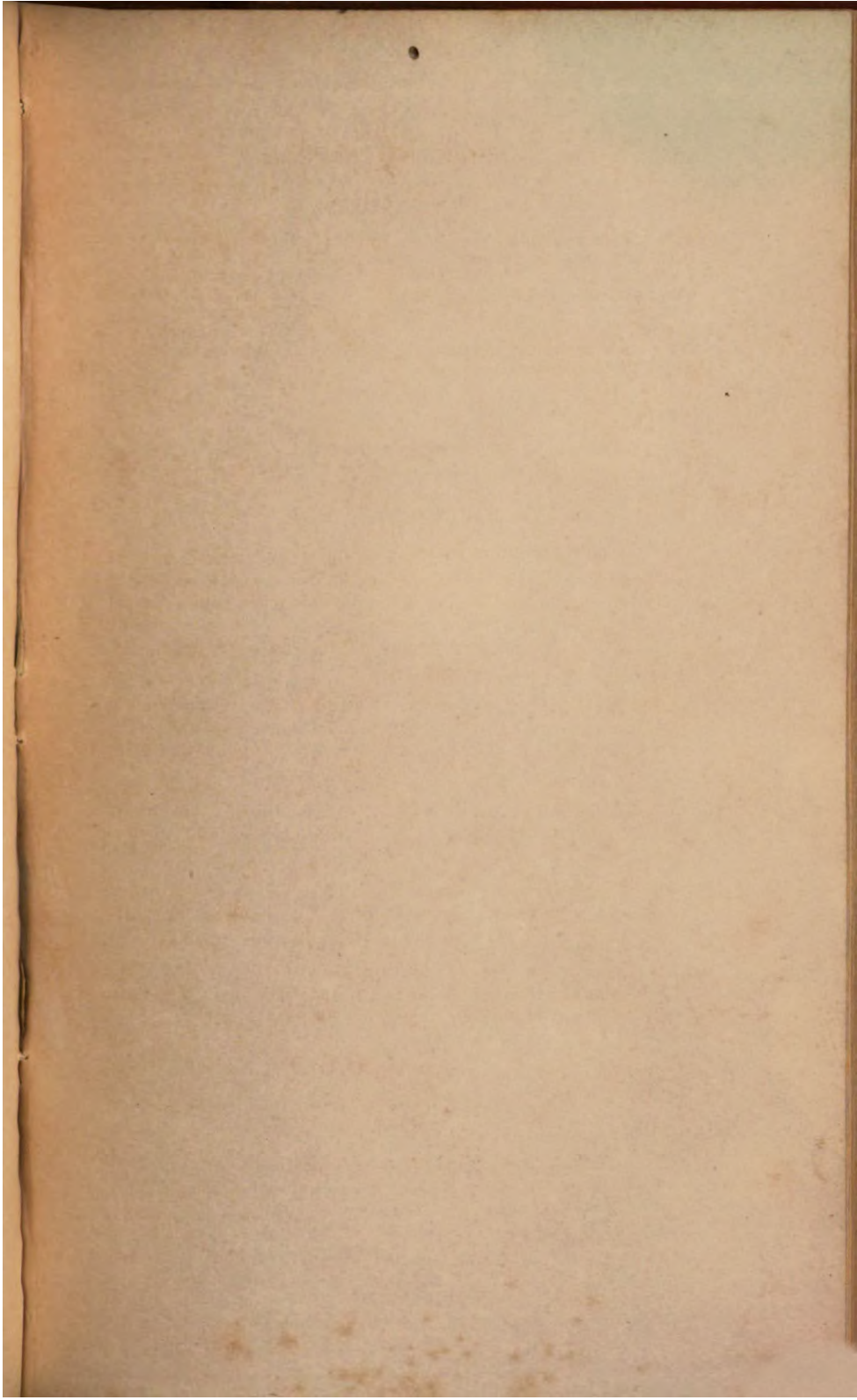

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CITY MEDAL.

Executed by William Wyon R.A.

Chief Engraver to H.M. Mint

Bates Patent Anagliptographic
Engraved by Friebaum

Pub.d by Taylor & Walton Upper Gower St. Jan.y 1st 1839.

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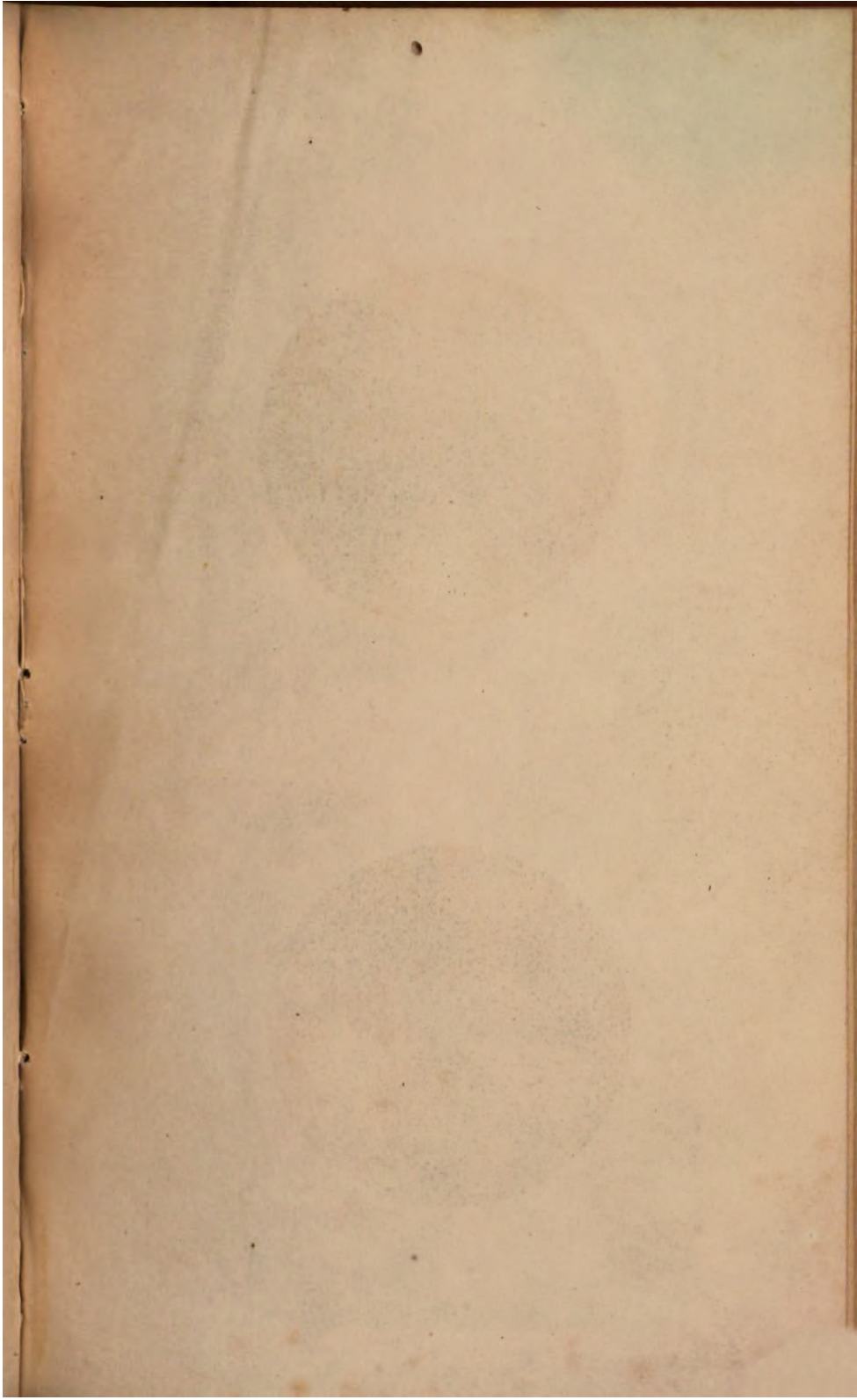

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...Moulds arranged for Casting. 2. Mass of metal filling channel D. 3. Covered ...

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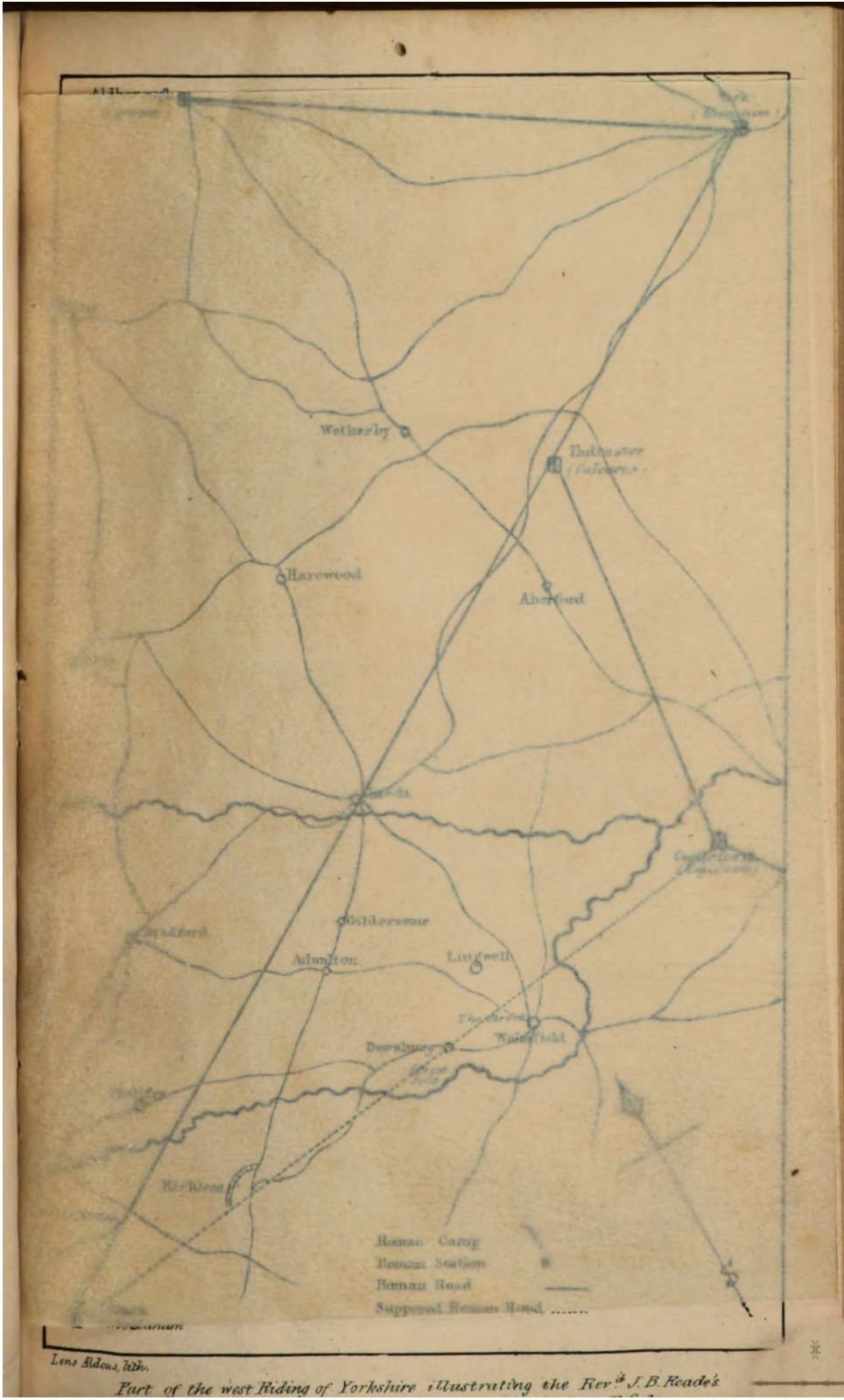

Lens Aldous, Delt.

Part of the west Riding of Yorkshire illustrating the Rev.d J.B. Reade's

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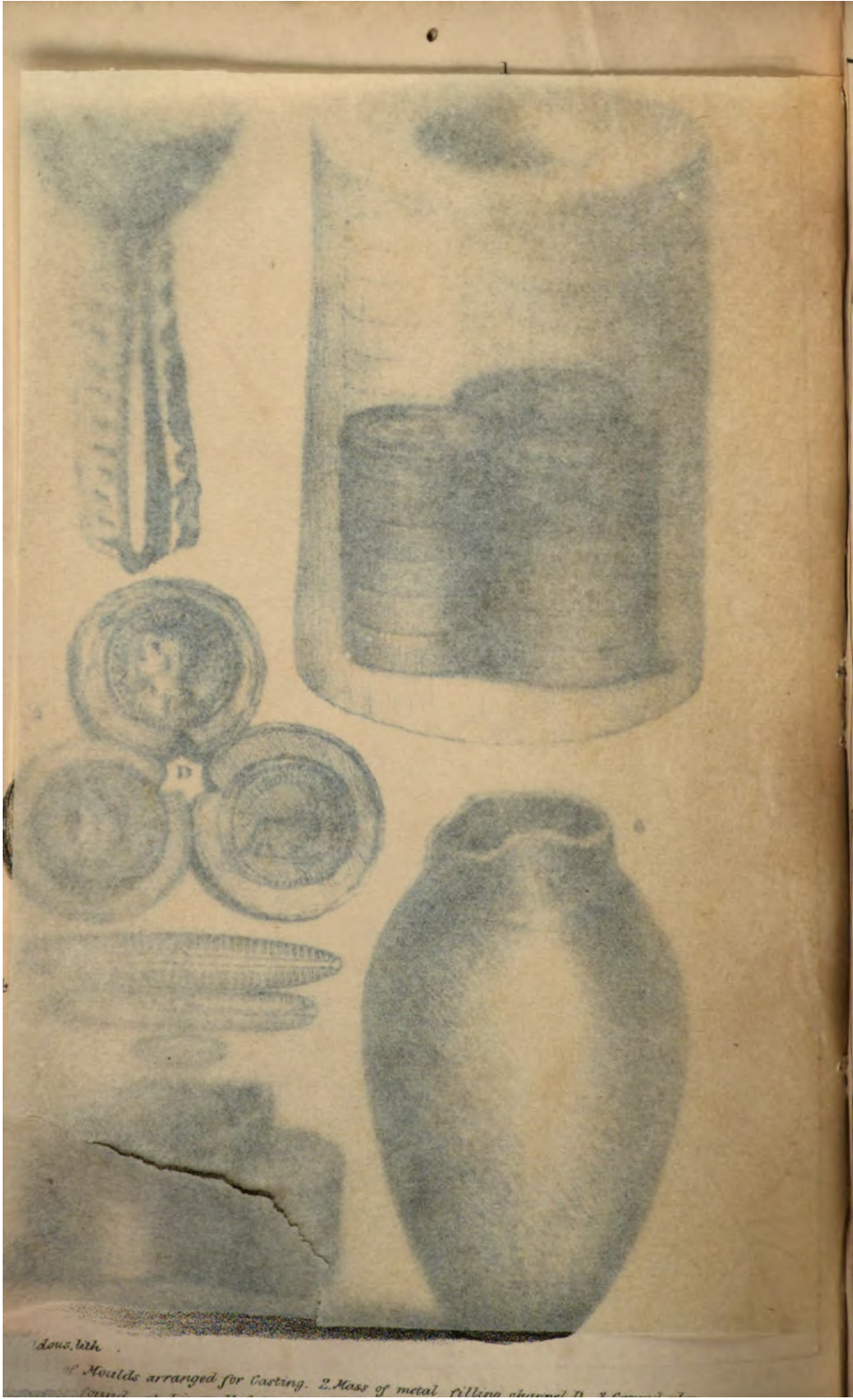

dous, lith.

of Moulds arranged for Casting. 2. Mass of metal filling channel D.

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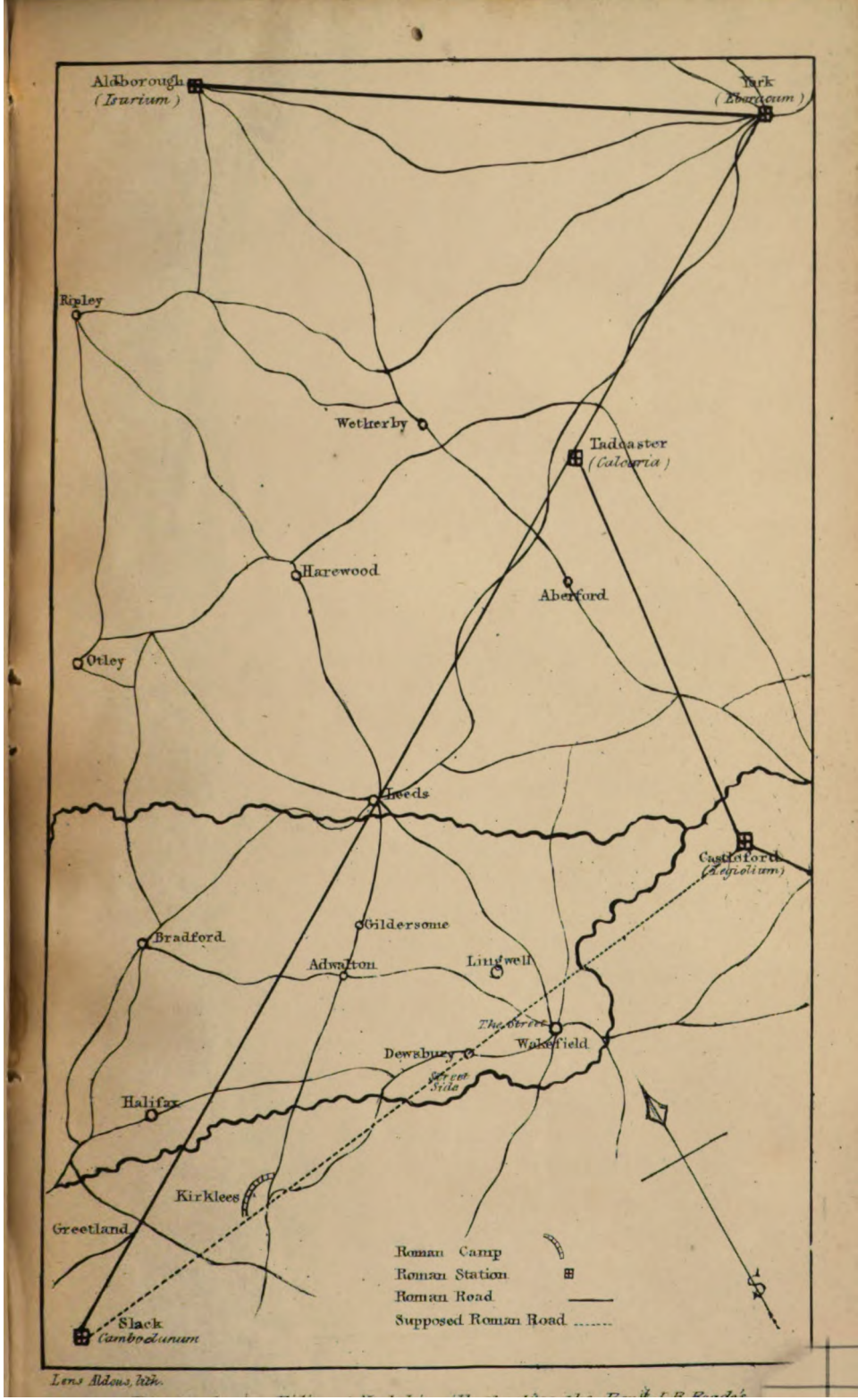

Lens Aldous, 12th.

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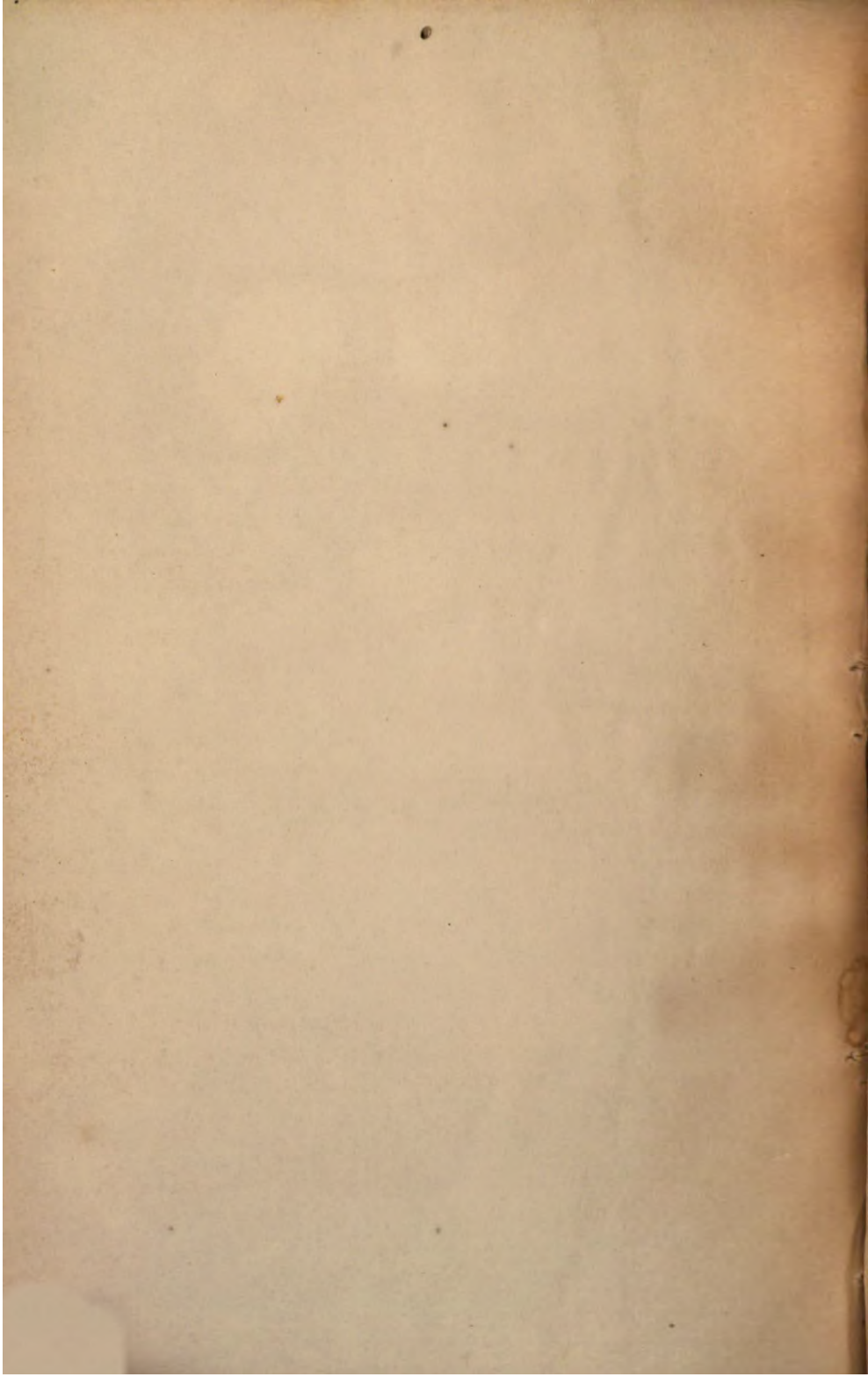

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XVI.

ON THE STYCA, SUPPOSED OF HUATH OF NORTHUMBRIA.

Sir,

In the first and very interesting number of your Numismatic Chronicle, I have read with much pleasure two very able and ingenious papers on the coins of Northumbria, by Mr. Hawkins; but as there are some points in which I cannot coincide with that learned gentleman, I shall feel much obliged by your laying before the public the following observations which this subject has suggested to me.

In the appropriation of the coins formerly assigned to Egbert, king of Kent, to Edbert and Alcred, kings of Northumbria, and Egbert, archbishop of York, I fully coincide with him, indeed it would be rather singular if I did not, as you will perceive, by referring to the "Gentleman's Magazine," for February 1827, and also to the Numismatic Journal for September 1836, that the same appropriation of these coins was long since made by me; and I now feel assured that the great weight of Mr. Hawkins' authority will satisfy the reader as to the justice of this arrangement.

The coins given to Aldfrith, A. D. 685, I have no doubt are also rightly appropriated.

On the names *Alchired* and *Ecfvair*, mentioned by Ruding as occurring on some of the coins formerly assigned to Egbert of Kent, the reader will find some remarks in the article in the Gentleman's Magazine just alluded to. That the former name was intended for Alchred, there can, I believe, be no question; the appropriation of the other is, however, much more uncertain. My conjecture was

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that it might be intended for EEFVRID, the R being often formed like A, and the D like R; but the skeattas adduced by Mr. Hawkins, from the collections of Mr. Cuff and Mr. Brumell, have much shaken this opinion; and I am now rather inclined to coincide with Mr. Hawkins, in assigning it to Elfwald; however, as I have not seen any of this discription, I am unable to give any decided opinion.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1827, I have expressed an opinion that the coin of Egfrid seemed to belong to Egfrid, king of Mercia, A. D. 796, rather than to the Northumbrian prince of that name, the neatness of workmanship, and the occurrence of the word *Rex*, being more in accordance with the coins of Mercia, than with the early coins of Northumbria, on which the word *Rex* has not hitherto been found, those of Eanred, A. D. 808, and one or two of Eardulf's, being the first on which it occurs.

For the reason just mentioned, I am more inclined to attribute the skeatta of Ethelred to the first prince of that name, who began to reign in A. D. 774, than to Ethelred II., A. D. 840, the word *Rex* not occurring on it.

That the stycas bearing the name Eardulf, with (in one or two instances) the word *Rex*, belong to A. D. 796, and not to any subsequent period, as supposed by Pinkerton; I fully agree with Mr. Hawkins, as he will find, by referring to the Gentleman's Magazine, for April 1827.

From the specimens we have of the Northumbrian coins, it would appear that before the reign of Eardulf, the skeatta was the prevailing coin of that kingdom; and from that period, to the death of Osberht, the styca; after which, the penny was probably the most common: but no general rule as to the use of one denomination and the exclusion of others will be found to answer, as we find a styca of Aldfrid and a penny of Eanred, not to mention the disputed skeattas

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of Huth, which, even if excluded from the place I have assigned them, must be admitted to be not earlier than the middle of the ninth century.

I now come to the coins just alluded to; and which, since the discovery of Sir Henry Ellis, have attracted so much attention. We shall begin with the styca assigned to Huth, premising that the right appropriation of the skeattas, is in no wise affected by that of the styca in question, both, as Mr. Hawkins justly observes, being to be considered on their own merits.

The stycas of Eanred bearing on the reverse the moneyer's name, *Huatred*, induce a strong suspicion, according to Mr. Hawkins, that the name on Sir H. Ellis's styca, is that of one of Eanred's moneyers, whilst the appearance of the word REX after that name, would lead to a different conclusion. The other side, if legible, would certainly have decided the question; but as this evidence is wanting, we must wait until that of a more perfect coin of the same mintage is afforded us: I shall therefore say nothing more as to this coin, but proceed to the consideration of the two more important questions. First, Whether such a king as Huth, or Huath, could have reigned in Northumberland at the period mentioned? and—Second, If so, whether the coins I have given to this prince are rightly appropriated?

As to the first question, the Saxon Chronicle agrees with Brompton, in stating that Anlaf was expelled in A. D. 952, and that another prince was then raised to the throne by the Northumbrians. This prince by the former authority is called Eric or Yric, and by the latter Huth; and that they both alluded to the same person, might seem probable from their both calling him the son of Harold. If then we suppose Eric and Huth to be the same person, I see no inconsis-

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tency in his having different names; much less that the same king, particularly at different periods of his reign, should have struck pennies and skeattas.

The point, however, seems capable of receiving a different, and, indeed, a far more probable interpretation.

It appears from various authorities, that, from the time of Anlaf's expulsion to the final extinction of the Northumbrian kingdom in A. D. 955, that kingdom was in a most unsettled state, agitated by two parties; and that, on one occasion, Eric fled to Scotland.

Sir Francis Palgrave, in his history of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 231, speaks of Eric as having been raised to the throne in A. D. 947, and that after his expulsion and death, *another* Danish chieftain assumed the *Royal Title*, and reigned from 952 to 954, about the time assigned by Brompton to Huth; and if it should be objected that this king was not likely to have been Huth, who is called the son of Harald, I shall only reply that history speaks of several sons of Harald; and Baden, in his History of Norway, p. 14, says, "Harald had the policy, when an opportunity offered, to marry the daughters of the kings whom he conquered: thus he had a great number of sons of a different stock."

These reasons will, I think, be considered sufficient, at least to shew that there is no improbability in supposing a king of the name of Huth to have ruled in Northumberland in the middle of the tenth century, whilst, on the other hand, we have the positive evidence of Brompton in support of the fact.

Supposing, then, the existence of such a prince, the appropriation to him of the skeattas in question, will, I think, be admitted to stand on rather a solid foundation; the legends of the coins seem to be much stronger evidence on one side, than that relating to the size of the coins can possibly

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be on the other, whilst I cannot avoid considering the coin of Edred, I have adduced, as a very strong confirmation of my opinion. Mr. Hawkins considers the word MON rather as a blunder of the moneyer, but he seems not to have regarded the large annulets at each side of the cross, exactly as we have them on the coins in question. I am not contending for the certainty, but for the strong probability of the appropriation I have ventured to make; and I look on the coins themselves (which appear to me of a date not far removed from the period alluded to) and the passage of Brompton as mutually giving support to each other.

On the subject of skeattas in general, the reader will find some observations in the Gentleman's Magazine, for May 1827, and I shall only here add a few remarks suggested by the paper of Mr. Hawkins.

I cannot consider the cross on these coins as any evidence as to the period when they were struck, that symbol not being always adopted with any reference to christianity, but copied, along with other types and symbols, from the coins of the Greek emperors, and other christian princes.

Mr. Hawkins considers the rude figure on Plate I. Nos. 5 to 16, of Ruding, to have been intended for a bird; but I think most of them, if not all, are representations of rude heads, as one in my own collection, and which differs but little from those in Ruding, unquestionably is.

Mr. Hawkins will perceive, by reference to the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1827, that, as to the skeattas Nos. 6, 7, 9, &c., of Plate 26, I fully agree with him; and I also agree with him in opinion, that the skeattas were probably first struck about the seventh century.

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A few months since a parcel of coins, Hiberno-Danish, and Anglo-Saxon, found, I understand, in Co. Wexford, came into my possession. The latter, thirteen in number, and all in good, and most of them in fine preservation, contain several interesting varieties of the coins of the Confessor, one of them with *Pacx*, similar to that of Cnut, No. 25 of Ruding, but unpublished as to the coins of the Confessor; and as most of these coins exhibit either a mint or a moneyer, and sometimes both, not contained in Ruding's list, I think a description of them may be interesting.

		Type.
1 Harold I.	*PVLPIЄ · ON*ꟼENT.	Ruding Pl. 24, No. 4
2 Confessor	*EDЄAR · ON*BEORꟼ	. . . . . " 25, " 22
3	*SIDEMAN ·ON*PERH.	. . . . . " " " "
4	†IFINꟼ · ON PINꟼEST Probably for Lifinc.	. . . . . " " " "
5	*LADMÆR · ON · PINE	. . . . . " 25 " 23
6	†LEOFSTAN · ON · LVN	. . . . . " " " 33
7	ÆLFPINE·ON†ELXEL	. . . . . " " " "
8	LEOFPINE · ON†PELI	. . . . . " " " "
9	LEOFPINE ·ON†EGEL	. . . . . " " " "
10	†MANA · ON · ꟼENT	. . . . . " 26 " 37
11	*HDA :: ꟼMAN · ON · BR	. . . . . " " " "
12	LIFINꟼ · ON†LVNDꟼ	. . . . . " " " "
13	THʌONʌHꟼƎIZ* Retrograde.	Unpublished type.

It will be perceived that on six of these coins unpublished names of moneyers appear, and on three unpublished mints, of which Nos. 2 and 3 are particularly remarkable, the former reads BEORꟼ, and, I think, was probably intended for Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, which was a place of

* Unpublished.

† Varieties of spelling different from those in Ruding.

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great importance at the time of the Conquest, and was given by the Conqueror to Robert, earl of Morton and Cornwall, who built a castle there. No. 3 reads PERH, for *Wareham*, one of the mints mentioned in Domesday Book, but of which no coins have been hitherto discovered. Nos. 8 and 9, the former struck at *Wallingford*, the latter at *Aylesbury*, and both bearing the same moneyer's name, were probably struck by the same person, these two places being not far distant from each other.

Nos. 10, 11, 12, from the extreme smallness of their circumference, would, at first sight, appear to be half-pence, but their weights 15 to 16 grains, whilst those of the others are from 14 to 18 grains, prove them to be pennies.

I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

JOHN LINDSAY.

Cork, November 13th, 1838.

XVII.

ROMAN COIN MOULDS.

[As several papers have from time to time appeared in the transactions of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries, on the Roman Coin Moulds which have been discovered in different parts of Britain, it is judged expedient to place before English Numismatists, a translation of two important memoirs, recently published in the "Revue de la Numismatique Françoise," in order that they may have before them the whole series of facts, which have conducted us, at last, to a satisfactory conclusion, as to the origin and use of these moulds. These papers were read before the Numismatic Society, November 22nd, 1838.]

THE Roman coin moulds which have, at different times, been found in France in great numbers together, and

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particularly at Lyons, have exercised the curiosity of almost every antiquary. At their head must be ranked Count de Caylus, who has treated the subject at length. Opinions are divided with regard to them; some considering them the work of forgers, others thinking that the Romans themselves, at certain epochs, moulded their money; and especially about the time when the quality of the silver began to be greatly altered.[1]

I have drawn two of these moulds to illustrate my observations; and I hope to be able to resolve, or at least to clear up, some difficulties which have hitherto attended the subject. They were obtained from a collection, discovered some years ago, on the heights of Fourvieres, near Lyons; thirty-four of them came into my possession. It seems that there was a greater number of them; and that this same discovery is the subject of Grivaud de la Vincelle's work, entitled "A Collection of Ancient Monuments of Gaul."

No. 1. is, by the obverse, one of Soemias' inscription, IVLIA·SOEMIAS·AVG. Reverse PONT·TR·P·VI·COS.[2] Pallas, standing, holding in one hand an inverted spear, and victory in the other.

[1] *i. e.* after the reigns of the Antonines. There had, however, been occasional reductions in the standard of the Roman silver, long previous to the reign of Antoninus Pius. The Denarii of Mark Antony have about 10 grains of alloy in 56 of pure silver, while those of Augustus have about 2 grains only of alloy; this alone was sufficient to cause that mutiny of the triumvir's soldiers, to which Pliny alludes.—*Editor N. C.*

[2] The legend of the reverse here illustrates the observations which follow hereafter; the pontifical and tribunitian record can have nothing to do with a denarius of Soemias: it doubtless belongs to a coin of Severus or Caracalla; certainly not of her son Elagabalus, who held the tribunitian power but five times. Of course, it is evident that, in the present instance, the reverse of the *mould* could never appear as the reverse of a *coin*, having the head

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No. 3 has the head of Caracalla laureated with the inscription ANTONINVS · PIVS · AVG without any reverse.

These moulds are of earth, which has acquired by fire a dark red colour, and the consistency of brick. The paste of which they are made is rather fine.

It is easy to understand the way in which the ancients used these moulds to cast their money. They first worked up some clay, so as to form a tablet flat on both sides, and about two lines[3] thick on the border, where it was rounded. A piece of money was applied to each side, which of course left a hollow impression in the clay. The tablet intended to form the end of the pile, had an impression on but one side. Care was taken to place these tablets on one another, so that the reverse corresponded with its head; their misplacement would have produced some of those wrong reverses, of which the instances are not few on ancient coins.[4]

Placed on one another so as to form a roll or cylinder, they were luted together with soft clay, that closed all outlets. De Caylus speaks of a roll, consisting of eight tablets, and which was not a complete one. One is also mentioned in the History of the Academy of Inscriptions, which must be in the Cabinet de Médailles, at Paris, but the author, M. Mahudel, does not indicate the number of tablets.

M. Hennin, in his excellent "*Manuel de Numismatique*,"

of Soemias: at the same time, it is equally evident that the reverse of a mould, as inapplicable to the head of Soemias as the present one, might, by a wrong arrangement of the series, produce, what is popularly called, a blundered reverse,—*Editor N. C.*

[3] The French *ligne* is the twelfth part of an inch nearly.

[4] These coins with blundered or inapplicable reverses, were at one time numismatic puzzles, and led to much false reasoning. They so often occur at this period of the Roman empire, that the antiquary will do well to examine carefully all specimens, before he ventures on any speculations concerning them.—*Editor N. C.*

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expresses his surprise that on the moulds which exhibit a head and reverse, the reverse does not correspond with the head; it would be more surprising if it were otherwise, and M. Hennin's usual penetration is here at fault. The tablet at the termination of each pile, having only either a head or a reverse, it is plain that the next in succession must have either the reverse or the head corresponding, and so on.

If each obverse had its corresponding reverse on the same mould, the whole pile must be a repetition of the same mould, to produce the intended impressions; but this is contrary to observation.

The piles, when duly arranged, were subjected to fire to receive the necessary hardness; and it only then remained to pour the melted metal into the channel formed by the small notch, cut on the edge of each mould. It is not known whether the moulds were broken in order to get out the pieces thus formed, or whether there was another process of extracting them: it is probable, however, that the moulds served more than once.[5] Lastly, the jet of metal attaching to each coin was carefully taken off.—De Caylus says, that he used one of these moulds, which he had properly cleaned, and obtained from it some well formed pieces.

Were these moulds used by forgers, or by the moneyers of the empire? This question has been made the subject of several dissertations; Caylus embraces the latter opinion, and endeavours to prove that the Romans must have equally used coinage and founding, for the formation of their gold and silver money.[6]

[5] This experiment which has been repeated by the Rev. J. B. Reade, and others, shews that the same pile of moulds might be used for several castings. *Ed. N. C.*

[6] We do not think there is any evidence to shew that the Romans ever cast their *gold* coins. *Ed. N. C.*

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In support of this opinion, we must observe that it is precisely to the period when the quality of the money was singularly altered, that these moulds belong, so far at least, as they have hitherto been discovered.[7] On the other hand, it is incontestable, that much of the money of the reigns of Sept. Severus, and his successors is cast; for were their coins attributed to forgers, then, in this case, the quantity of bad money would, perhaps, have exceeded that of the good.[8]

M. Hennin, in his manual, does not pronounce a decided opinion; he supposes that the forgers may have been tacitly avowed by government. This opinion has something specious in it, but it is an unsupported conjecture. Grivaud de la Vincelle goes farther, and maintains that it must be the workmen of the Mint at Lyons, who carried on this clandestine mintage.

The latter, as well as Gerard Jacob Kolb, M. Champollion-Figeac, and Mangeart, think that these moulds belonged to forgers.

The first of these, whose opinion is much more decisive than that of the other two, endeavours also to prove, that this counterfeit issue must have taken place only under Alexander Severus.[9] But this point—of no great import-

[7] It is singular that among the moulds discovered at Lingwell Gate, was one of Antoninus Pius. It was presented to the Numismatic Society, by the Rev. J. B. Reade.—*Editor N. C.*

[8] It is remarkable that the plated forgeries of the times of the Cæsars are, in some instances, much more numerous than genuine coins; witness the denarii of Claudius, and those of Domitilla.—*Editor N. C.*

[9] The fact, that there are many ancient coins of Severus Alexander which appear to have been cast in moulds, is not sufficient to warrant such a conjecture. We are of opinion, that the practice of casting pieces of an inferior quality, was first resorted to either in the reign of S. Severus or Caracalla, of both of whom the specimens are the most numerous; though even this circumstance would not be conclusive: for it is not improbable, that an emperor, who resorted to such means of false coining, would use

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ance to my present subject—does not appear sufficiently clear.

The opinion of these learned antiquaries does not seem to me sufficiently fortified with reasons; I think it well to endeavour, in a few words, to make up for their silence.

The strongest reason, in my opinion, for believing that these moulds must have been used by forgers, is, that it appears certain, that the dies which coiners used, were broken as soon as they were no longer wanted. A very small number of these dies have come down to us, and yet their number must have been immense, considering the extreme variety of the impressions on money.[10] Is it supposable, that they would have destroyed the metal dies, and preserved the earthen moulds, the destruction of which was far more easy?

I foresee an objection which will not fail to be raised; since we allow, it will be said, that the makers of money were able to make use of moulds, how happens it, if they were of metal, that not one has reached us? We conceive

the coins of his predecessors, upon whom the odium would fall in the event of their being detected by his subjects. Detection, however, was not an easy matter; the quality of the coins could only be ascertained by the *numularii* or money-changers, who, in their turn, would be puzzled to pronounce on the fineness of money, the quality and standard of which was, in all probability, never publicly announced by the Emperor. Complimentary legends on Roman coins must be regarded with caution; but we may mention, that Alexander Severus is styled, on some of his money, "*Restitutor Monetæ.*" *Ed. N. C.*

[10] There is reason to believe, that, in almost every instance, the dies were engraved punches, which yielded to every blow of the hammer; hence the very uncommon occurrence of two coins from the same die. When the punch thus used ceased to perform its office, the mutilated die was perhaps effaced, and another engraved upon the same piece of metal. Still, as M. Poey d' Avant suggests, the dies may have been destroyed by the Imperial command, in the presence of the Mint Master. *Ed. N. C.*

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the discovery of one of these metal moulds would greatly simplify the question. The small number of dies that have been found, makes it not unlikely that there existed also metallic moulds; besides, it is very credible, that the destruction of these moulds must have been more particularly looked to, since the use of them would have been much more easy than that of dies; and the forgers, who swarmed at that period, would not have failed to use them, had they fallen into their hands.

These forgers profited by the reduction of the quality of silver, to carry on their criminal craft. This point seems to me evident; their profits became more certain, and their productions were so much the more easy to pass, the more difficult it was to distinguish them from genuine money.

Lyons, being the seat of a mint, the forgers would have established themselves there in preference: Aur. Victor relates that their number had increased to such a degree in Italy, that under Aurelian, they formed a body of sufficient importance openly to withstand this prince, and cause him in one encounter a loss of nearly 7000 regular troops.

I therefore maintain, that moulds of baked earth of Roman coins were used by forgers; but, in order to reconcile all opinions, I allow that these works were secretly authorised by the Emperors, who, involved in debt, in consequence of their luxury and debaucheries, considered all means good that tended to fill the coffers of the state; but this would not, however, explain why the moulds were not destroyed.

F. Poey d' Avant, de Melle.

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No. 2.

ACCOUNT OF A MANUFACTORY FOR MONEY, DISCOVERED AT DAMERY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MARNE, 1830.

The examination of the question, whether the moulds for Roman money found near Lyons, had been used by forgers, or by the officers of government, an inquiry in which M. Poey d' Avant has lately been engaged, after the Academy of Inscriptions, and almost all the antiquaries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, gives a new value to the discovery now under consideration; and in fact, though it may not decide the question, it at least throws a new light upon it.—

During the winter of 1829-1830, some excavations made in a very small part of the site of the park of the old castle of Damery, a town near Epernay, built on the ruins of Bibé, the first station on the military road from Rheims to Beauvais, brought to view, at the depth of several feet, under a heap of ashes, charcoal and broken tiles, the remains of extensive buildings demolished by fire, having evidently served for baths and a moneyer's workshop. In some adjoining apartments, there were found, in a short space of time, several vases full of coins.

The first vase contained at least 2000 pieces of base silver, more than 1500 of which bore the head of Postumus; the remainder presented the series which is generally found from the elder Philip down to that tyrant: the only rare piece was one of the younger Macrianus; the reverses, although very various for the coins of Postumus, were all common; lastly, the fabric was bad, and the metal much reduced: and those with the impression of Postumus were comparatively more defective than the others.

Another vase contained:—

1. A Silver coin of Antoninus.

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2. Five small brass, of the money of Treves, with the types of Rome and Constantinople.

3. 100 other small brass, of the money of Treves, Lyons, Arles, Aquileia, Sisseg (P.S), and Rome; with the impressions of Constans and Constantius, sons of Constantine, and having for those three Emperors, the three same reverses, viz. FELIX · TEMP · REPARATIO; a warrior giving his hand to a small figure—same inscription, the Emperor standing on a galley—VICTORIAE · DD · AVGG · NN. Victories presenting crowns.

4. About 3900 pieces in small brass of the fourth size, all in perfect preservation, and all with the impressions of the same emperors, Constans and Constantius, and with the unusual reverse of a Phœnix on a globe, placed on a rock, with the inscription FELIX · TEMP · REPARATIO.

The greater part of these pieces bore on the exergue the mark of the money of Treves, several that of the money of Lyons, and one only bore the exergueal letters SIS, attributed in like manner to the money of Sisseg. The types were various.

Nevertheless, and in the face of these formal indications of manufacture in places far distant from one another, the identity of the alloy and of the impression of these 3900 coins was such, and their preservation so perfect and so equal, that the thought forces itself upon us, that they had been made in the same manufactory, and that they had never quitted it to be put into circulation. This supposition, justified also by the uniformity of the impressions, seems fully confirmed by the discovery in an adjoining apartment, of a money manufactory in full activity.

There, under a heap of ashes and tiles, were found together, shears, and the remains of other iron instruments, suitable for the making of money; and several collections

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of moulds of baked earth, still containing the pieces which had been cast in them, and the ingot formed by the superfluous metal. (Plate fig. 2).

These moulds, not so thick, and of a coarser earth than those communicated by M. Poey d' Avant, were in other respects entirely similar.

Like those found at Fourvieres, they were moulded from the money which they were intended to reproduce, by pressing the models between disks of worked clay of larger diameter, in order to form ledges, and were then placed one upon another, so that with the exception of the first and last, they received on each face the stamp of the obverse and the reverse of a piece.

The cavities and the impressions being obtained by this process both easily and accurately, the disks composing the moulds were notched, in order to form a passage for the fused metal; they were then hardened in the fire, replaced on one another, notch over notch, and in the same order as when moulded, and lastly, luted with clay, so as to form a cylinder similar to that found at Fourvieres, and described by M. de Caylus.

But the last operation that preceded the founding escaped the notice of that antiquary. The piles of moulds were combined in threes,[1] placed at the side of one another, and in contact, so that the notches, for the introduction of the metal, communicated with the hollow space formed by the three cylindrical surfaces when applied to one another; which space, therefore, served as a general channel for the melted matter. Such was the disposition of the groups of moulds found in the ruins of Bibé. (Pl. fig. 1).

The ingot drawn in illustration of these observations, is

[1] It will be observed that a double and not a triple pile was used at Lingwell Gate, as appears from the drawing (fig. 5), which I have received from the Rev. S. Sharp, of Wakefield. *Ed.N.C.*

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one of those formed by the superabundant metal in the channel. It is bristled with three longitudinal lines of 12 points each, more or less prominent, these points being the remains of the ramification of metal that entered by the notches of the 12 moulds, in each of the three piles constituting the group, and thus 36 pieces were cast at once. These observations, M. de Caylus was not enabled to make.

There is no doubt but these moulds, as well as those much more perfect, found at Fourvieres, were used for more than one casting; with a little care, the pieces were taken out without breaking the moulds; and M. de Caylus made an experiment on the latter, which even some of those found in the ruins of Bibé might bear, although they had undergone, at the time of the conflagration of this Roman establishment, the action of the most violent fire.

The moulds found at various times at Fourvieres, were of the types of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta, Soemias, Mæsa, and Alexander Severus.

Only 32 moulds were found uninjured in the ruins of the work at Bibé, and these are scarcely the tenth part of the whole. Three bear the head of Caracalla, four, that of the elder Philip, and twenty-five that of Postumus with nine varieties of reverses.

The following is the description in detail, of the impressions on the moulds preserved in the cabinets of M. Lucas Desaint, of Rheims, and M. Thiers, with the number of duplicates.

Caracalla; ANTONINVS · PIVS · AVG · GERM; crowned head, (*large size*).

Rev.—VENUS · VICTRIX; Venus Victrix, standing, having a figure of Victory on her right hand, and the hasta transversely in her left; her elbow leaning on a buckler.

Rev.—SECVRITAS · PERPETVA; Minerva standing.

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Rev.—CARITAS · MVTVA · AVGG ; two heads joined.

Philip the Elder; IMP · PHILIPPVS · AVGG. *Rev.*—ÆTERNITAS · AVGG. A figure on an elephant.

Rev.—SÆCVLVM · NOVVM ; Jupiter in a temple.

Rev.—FIDES · EXERCITUS ; four military standards.

Rev.—SÆCVLARES · AVGG ; Hippopotamus.

Postumus ; IMP · C · POSTVMVS · P · F · AVG. *Rev.*—FELICITAS · AVG. A woman standing, her right hand on a long caduceus, and holding in her left a cornucopia. (4 *dupl.*)

Rev.—MONETA · AVG ; woman standing. (2 *dupl.*)

Rev.—LÆTITIA · AVG ; galley. (2 *dupl.*)

Rev.—SAECVLI · FELICITAS ; the emperor in military costume, holding a globe, and the hasta transversely. (7 *dupl.*)

Rev.—FIDES · EXERCIT ; two ensigns. (3 *dupl.*)

Rev.—HERCVLI · DEVSONIENSI ; Hercules standing, leaning on his club. (3 *dupl.*)

Rev.—HERCVLI · PACIFERO ; Hercules standing, holding a branch.

Rev.—NEPTVNO · COMITI ; Neptune standing.

Rev.—DIANA · LVCIFERA ; Diana.

Rev.—without impression.

We may suppose that the broken or dispersed moulds reproduced the different impressions of the silver pieces found in great numbers in the apartments adjoining the workshop, pieces which must in great measure have proceeded from the active casting that was going on. This supposition seems especially to hold for the 1500 silver pieces of Postumus, in which the bad alloy and defective make were particularly remarkable.

With respect to the 3900 small brass, with the reverse of the phœnix, it is maintained, that they were struck in the manufactory of Bibé, although bearing the marks of the money of Trèves and Lyons. And indeed it is conceived, that in those times of confusion, the money of the emperors must have followed their camps, and been continually within

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reach of their residence. The simultaneous discovery under the same ruins of these small brass coins, with the effigies of Constans and Constantius, and of moulds still enclosing the money of Caracalla, Philip, and Postumus, which had been cast in them, proves besides this very important fact, that the latter had been made *under the reign of those two first emperors only*.

Independently of these considerable stores, there have been frequently found at Damery, isolated pieces; but none of those submitted to my inspection was after the reign of the sons of Constantine, the period to which we must assign the total ruin of Bibé by the Franks, who then were making incursions into Belgic Gaul.

The following conclusions result from these discoveries, discoveries which we have endeavoured minutely to describe, and which are of more importance to the critic than those of Fourvieres:—

That if, according to the testimony of Pliny, forgers were the first to adopt the method of casting, to counterfeit ancient money, the emperors from the time of Postumus availed themselves of this process to reproduce secretly, and in metal of bad alloy, the money of their predecessors.

That it is to these reproductions (clandestine) we must attribute the enormous quantity of silver money, of inferior quality and defective make, with the impressions of the Cæsars, from the time of Septimius Severus, down to Postumus.

Lastly, they explain the total want of silver money, from Victorinus to Dioclesian, and the great rarity of that of the lower empire.

In fact, it results, from these discoveries, that under the reigns of the Cæsars, Constans, and Constantius, there were cast, in a mint established at Bibé, large quantities of money, with the stamp of the emperors who had reigned

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from Caracalla to Postumus, and that this manufactory, situated in the heart of a town, and near public baths, did not belong to forgers, but was for the imperial money, in which copper money was struck with the die of the reigning emperors, and the silver money of the ancient Cæsars, still more adulterated than the original pieces, was reproduced by founding.

Hence, the possibility that the reigning emperor did not strike silver money with his die, nor maintain faithfully the quality of the small quantity which he issued; since at the same time that he threw into circulation the quantity of specie necessary for civil and commercial transactions, by means of ancient money secretly reproduced he diminished its intrinsic value.

It was besides evident that the small number of silver pieces struck with the die of the Cæsars, from the time of Dioclesian down to the destruction of the Western Empire, could not satisfy the wants of the public; and that even in those disastrous times, the money of the former Cæsars had continued current during that period, but, disappearing in the continual concealments that took place in consequence of war and endless ravages, the emperors, to their great profit, clandestinely reproduced it, instead of multiplying specie of good standard, struck with their own die.

We conceive, then, that having the choice, they reproduced in preference money, the quality of which had been reduced previously; and thus all the moulds discovered, bear the head of Septimius Severus who had altered the money first, and of his successors down to Postumus, who had all followed his example; for though it is easy to discover, by mere inspection, whether the silver of any money be pure or not, it is impossible to judge, by this means, of the quantity of adulteration.

It had long been remarked, that there was a great

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inequality in the degree of alteration (or reduction) of the money struck at the same time, and with the mark of the same emperor. We cannot now doubt that such differences are the consequence of these fraudulent reproductions.

And thus, if the emperors punished the alteration of the money as a sacrilege, it was certainly with the view of securing to themselves the monopoly of this shameful source of profit. HIVER.

No. 3.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROMAN COIN-MOULDS FOUND AT LINGWELL-GATE, NEAR WAKEFIELD, IN THE YEARS 1697, 1706, 1820, and 1830. By the Rev. J. B. READE, M A., F. R. S.

IT was my design, in a former paper,[1] to state, in few words, the present position of the question which has been raised, as to the origin and use of Roman Coin-moulds, and also to suggest an expedient for its solution. As regards the formation of the moulds, it is supposed either that they were sent from Rome,—or that they were made of sand which had been brought to the place where they are found,—or that they were made of the sand and clay of the spot; and each of these opinions has able advocates. As regards the metallic currency which these moulds were designed to furnish, it is supposed that it either proceeded wholly from the clandestine operation of forgers,—or that the authorities countenanced this illicit extension of public money, and availed themselves of the supply,—or, that under the express sanction of the senate, the colonial soldiers were hereby provided with lawful coin of the realm. Here also, as

[1] Numismatic Journal, Vol. II. p. 58.

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before, we might support these different views by important documents which have been laid before learned societies. When, however, such and so many conflicting statements are brought before us, it immediately strikes us, notwithstanding the allowed skill of the debaters, that they cannot all be true; while, at the same time, the ability with which such different positions are maintained, renders it very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Under these circumstances, an appeal to facts appears to be our only resource.

With regard then to the origin of these moulds, the means by which I propose to prove generally, that they were made on or near the spot where they are from time to time discovered, has especial reference to the extensive and interesting series which has been found at Lingwell-Gate. In the course of an inquiry into the solid materials which constitute the ashes of plants, and of which silica is a very important one, I observed that the minute and beautiful organization which this substance exhibits, is not easily disturbed by pressure, in consequence of its extreme minuteness, while, from the very nature of the material, it is necessarily indestructible by heat. Hence, under the expectation of finding other traces of siliceous structure, I was led to the examination of silica as it enters into the different strata which form the crust of the earth; and thus the siliceous particles constituting the chief mass of Roman coin moulds was subjected to microscopic examination. Passing by many observations, which would readily present themselves on the nature of this mode of investigation, I proceed to state, that the discovery of more than one species of well known *Fossil Infusoria*, of the genus *Navicula*, in the sand of some of the coin moulds, seemed to point out a new, but, apparently effectual expedient,

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for enabling us, without much risk of error, to assign the moulds in question to their proper locality. For, should it appear upon subsequent examination, that the common soil, or sand of the field in which the moulds were found, is characterised by siliceous shields of similar infusoria, then it would be the most natural and obvious conclusion, that the Roman coin-moulds turned up by the plough at Lingwell-Gate, were made on the spot, and of the soil where they were found. A recent journey to Yorkshire gave me an opportunity of investigating, and of verifying this curious speculation; and I can now state that the sand of the field, which I have carefully examined, is marked by the presence of the infusoria of the coin-moulds. The general form of these animalcules is elliptical, having a major axis of about the $\frac{1}{100}$ of an inch, and the length of the major and minor axis, in the proportion of nearly 6 to 1: there are also about 100 minute stripes at right angles to two parallel and central longitudinal lines; and at each extremity, and in the middle of these lines, there is a small circular orifice. It appears, from a memoir by Professor Ehrenberg, that these infusoria are widely diffused; and when they occur in masses, or layers, the aggregation receives the name of *tripoli*, and is largely used for purposes of practical utility; for, as Professor Ehrenberg remarks—"The soldier cleans his arms with tripoli, the worker in metal, the locksmith, and the engraver, polish with infusoria, which also *serve for moulds* in foundries." For this latter purpose, we shall not be disposed to doubt that they were used at Lingwell-Gate.

The second main point in this inquiry, presents greater difficulty than the first. But here also, no small advantage may be gained, by a comparison of the different local circumstances which are connected with the most recent

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discoveries of these moulds in this country and on the continent: I allude to the discoveries at Lingwell-Gate, in the county of York, and at Damery in the department of Marne. Of the discovery at the latter place, a very elaborate account has been furnished by M. Hiver, Procureur du Roi à Orleans, in the Revue de la Numismatique Française, No. 3, Mai et Juin. But as a translation of this memoir is inserted in the present number of the Numismatic Chronicle, it will suffice to state that the facts detailed and established by M. Hiver, necessarily lead us to the following important conclusion :—viz. that under the reigns of the Cæsars, Constans, and Constantius, and immediately prior to the ruin of Bibé by the Franks, who were then making incursions into Belgic Gaul, there were cast, by means of moulds, in a mint established at Bibé, large quantities of money, with the type of the emperors who had reigned from Caracalla to Postumus; and, that this manufactory, situated in the heart of a town, and adjoining the public baths, did not belong to forgers, but was for the imperial money; in which copper money was struck with the die of the reigning emperors, and the silver money of the ancient Cæsars was reproduced, not in copper, but in base silver from the moulds.

If now we refer to the very different circumstances which are connected with the discovery at Lingwell-Gate, we shall find that the clandestine operation of forgers stands in striking contrast with the recognised and open proceedings of the constituted authorities at Bibé. Concealment here takes the place of publicity; and the selected spot is no longer in the centre of a town, but in the heart of a forest; and at a distance from the main road, instead of near public baths. The money, also, now produced, and which, in some instances, is still remaining in the

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moulds, was not of largely alloyed silver, as at Bibé, but of copper; and since, at this period of the empire, mere copper denarii would be worse than useless, there can be no doubt that the skill of the forgers would supply a coating of silver, before putting them into circulation.

On the whole, therefore, it seems to amount almost to a certainty, that the moulds were made on, or near, the spot, where they are from time to time discovered, and that they were used in common by forgers, and by the Triumviri Monetales; by the former at Lingwell-Gate, for the purpose of procuring a private supply of counterfeit money; and by the latter at Bibé, for the purpose of filling the exhausted coffers of the state with a debased coinage of the ancient Cæsars. Thus, in each case it is evident, that in those degenerate days both kings and subjects acted out, in practice, what in the Augustan age was confined to words,

"O cives, cives, quærenda pecunia primum est,
Virtus post nummos."—*Hor.*

BLONDEAU'S PROPOSAL FOR REFORMING THE COINAGE OF ENGLAND.

[Read before the Numismatic Society 22nd November, 1838.]

Chelsea, September 25th, 1838.

My Dear Sir,

Having had occasion lately to look into the library of the British Museum for notices respecting Thomas Simon, the celebrated engraver of Coins and Medals about the middle of the seventeenth century, I was surprised to find a printed paper on a loose sheet, without date, but bearing that of 1650 *written* at the bottom of the page, to which the name of Simon is attached also in MS., although the paper itself is evidently the production of a foreigner;

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whereas I had always understood that Evelyn's assertion was correct, that Simon was born in Yorkshire.

On a perusal of the document, which is an address from the writer to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, there can be no doubt that it must be ascribed to Peter Blondeau, a French engineer, who came over to England about that time, for the purpose of prevailing upon the council of state to accept of some new improvements, which he had introduced into the practice of coining money, for the use of the British Mint. The paper recites the countenance he received at first from the committee of the mint, and the difficulties he afterwards experienced from the master and officers of that establishment.

The supposition that this paper [A], a copy of which I beg leave to enclose to you for the Numismatic Society, was really written, or at least addressed, by Peter Blondeau to the Parliament, is fully established by another paper [B], also in the British Museum, in which his name occurs evidently relating to the same subject, and which seems to have been addressed to the Parliament a few years after. In this, Blondeau enlarges upon the difficulties placed in his way, the motive of those obstacles, and upon the advantages which would accrue, both to the mint and to the public, if the Parliament would enforce the adoption of his new process: this process being simply the substitution of the mill and screw, for the hammer to strike the coin. This machinery was not, however, finally provided for the mint, as stated by Folkes in the introduction to his "Table of English Coins," till the year 1662.

These two documents together present several curious circumstances respecting the state of the British Mint, and the coinage issued from it at this period: and as they seem to have escaped the notice of the learned writers on the

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subject—at least, I do not find them attended to by Folkes, although he mentions generally the fact to which they relate,—I have thought that perhaps you would not consider them undeserving of being brought under the notice of the society, as illustrative of the history of our coinage.

Ever, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

W. R. HAMILTON.

Dr. G. Lee, Pres. Num. Soc.
Doctors' Commons.

[A]

Extracted from a Folio in the British Museum, marked Miscellaneous Sheets, 164—50, *from November* 27, *to February* 28; *gift of George* III.

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

THE assurance that I have, that all your honours' cares and labours have no other aime, than the removing of all disorders, the relieving of the people, and increasing more and more the happinesse within, and the reputation abroad, of this commonwealth, hath emboldened me to put your honours in mind, that the coyne when it is ill done doth cause many disorders in a state, giving way to the counterfeiting and clipping of it, which occasioneth the death of several persons; besides the transporting of the heaviest pieces out of the land, to the great hinderance of the commerce, and the great losse and incommodity of the poor people, which is worthy to be taken into consideration, and to be pitied.

For the remedy of such a disorder, the honourable councell of state had prudently resolved to have the money well coyned, if they could but meet with an excellent workman to have the conduct of that work. A year since, I had

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notice of it, whereupon I sent hither some patterns of coyn, which were esteemed and approved of by the said honourable councell of state, which occasioned my comming into England; where being arrived, I was very courteously entertained by the said honourable councell, who then doubted not but that Doctor Gourdon, Master of the Mint, would be inclinable to a thing so much conducing to the good and relief of the people: but it fell out otherwise; for having applied myself several times unto the said Doctor, he told me plainly, that if I was come to be an officer of the mint, they were already too many, and that the workmen were more than they had need for the coyning of their moneys, which they would do so well, that the state would be satisfied; and accordingly he did promise it unto the state.

A while after, the said workmen coyned some money, the said Doctor exhorting them to doe it well, and indeed they used their best skill; yet it did cost dear unto the state, by reason of the stamps they spoyled: and was so ill-favouredly done, that it displeased both the people, and those that had any skill therein.

The honourable councell of state did since give an order, the 3rd of February last, that the coyne should be better made, and that the honourable committee of the mint should hearken unto my proposition; which is, by a new invention of mine, to make a handsomer coyne, than it can be found in all the world besides, viz. that shall not only be stamped on both flat sides, but shall even be marked with letters upon the thicknesse of the brim, whereby the counterfeiting, casting, and clipping of the coyne shall be prevented. This way is much approved of, and desired by all knowing, curious, and understanding men, both in the parliaments, and in the honourable councell of state; and even by most men of all sorts and conditions, who have

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seen my patterns, and doe understand the utility, profit, and reputation this commonwealth will get by it. But the said Doctor and the workmen of the mint, not willing to understand the dammage they cause unto the poor people, and to the state also, and for their own and private interest, have so crossed this businesse, that no resolution hath yet been taken to procure so much good unto the state and the publick.

The said Doctor hath told me himself in plain tearms, that he would doe his utmost to hinder my proposition; and for that end he hath brought in an Irish lock-smith, one David Rammage, a man ill-affected to the present government, who hath been servant formerly (to) the late deceased Master Briot, for whom he forged his tools, and marked his brasse counters; which Rammage made a proof of a very big brasse piece very ill-favouredly done, which was marked upon the thicknesse of the brim, after the old way; which is very tedious, and cannot be done upon thin ordinary pieces, as I may doe by my new invention.

Farther to hinder that the said invention of mine should be made use of, the said Doctor hath given out, that it was a thing so easie to be found out, that the workmen of the mint, and any other could counterfeit the same; and therefore, that it was as good to coyne the money of this commonwealth as it is coyned now in France; and that he might undertake it, he caused the said Irish smith to be associated with the workmen of the mint, saying he would doe it as well, and cheaper than any body else. The money coyned that way, can be cast and clipped; yet the Honourable Sir James Harrington desiring to know their price, he did bid them draw a proposition of the lowest price they would have for (it), which they did, putting it very low, with no other design than thereby to discourage

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me, and have me goe away, that afterwards they might fall again to their old way of coyning as formerly.

To know the truth of this thing, whether my invention is so easy to be found out, about three months since, an honourable member of the parliament sent my proofs to Doctor Gourdon, that he might find it out, or cause it to be found out by the workmen of the mint, or any other, and to know what price they would have to coyne that way. They have still my proofs, but could not find out the invention, nor cast them, as the Doctor has given out that it may be done.

It is so easie to know that all such artifices tend onely to amerce the state, and make me lose both my time and patience; but I hope that your honours, by their prudence and generosity, will prevent it; not suffering that the pretended interest of some private men be any further hindrance or retardment to the publick good, or the glory that will thereby generally happen to the whole state, but specially to the honourable members of the parliament.

I say, *the pretended interest of some private men*, because when I shall have instructed the workmen to work after my way, they will have more credit and profit, than by any other way of coyning.

Now, to shew the affection and desire I have to serve this commonwealth, and to live under it, because of the esteeme I make of the present government; although this way of coyning I doe propound, be more difficult and chargeable, yet I doe offer to make it for the very self-same price, and upon the same termes the Irish smith and his associates have demanded, to coyne merely after the French way.

The said price is, five shillings for coyning each pound of Gold, and twelve pence for each pound of Silver. The

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state doth furnish the gold and silver in Plate, with the expences and maintaining of the machine, tooles, gravers, and all other small charges necessary to make the money.

But if the state be willing, that I should undertake to maintaine the machine, utensils, and all other small but necessary charges for the perfecting of the money, it would be more easie, and lesse chargeable to the state. Yet I will submit to whatsoever your honours shall command me.

I most humbly beseech your honours to take into your serious consideration, that I have been these nine months at a great charge, doing nothing, but still expecting the honour of your commands. If any man doth call to doubt or question the possibility of what I doe propound, I will make proofe of it without any charge to the state.

June, 1650—(*in writing*).

[B]

Extracted from a small duod. vol. in the British Museum, entitled "Tracts of Coin," London, 1627. (The date is incorrect being that of the first tract in the volume).

A most humble memorandum from Peter Blondeau, concerning the offer made by him to the commonwealth, for the coyning of the monie by a new invention, not yet practised in any state of the world: the which will prevent counterfeiting, casting, washing, and clipping of the same. Which coyn shall be marked on both the flat sides, and about the thickness or (of) the edge, of a like bigness and largeness as the ordinarie coyn is; and will cost no more than the ordinarie unequal coyne which is used now.

Since it has been the pleasure of the parliaments, and of the council of state, to pass some orders in relation to the preventing of the counterfeited and clipped monie, now dispersed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, hee makes

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bold, yet with submission, to present the following particulars, containing, besides the said offers; First, the reason why the coyn of this commonwealth is clipped and light, so that few pieces are to bee found weighing their true weight. As also the reason why so much false coyn is now dispersed. And secondly, the onely way to remedie the said inconveniences, and to settle a good and constant order in the mint.

As to the first, the reason of the said abuse is, because the monie coyned with the hammer is so easie to be counterfeited, and with so few engines and so little expences, that thereby the false coyners are encouraged, and their number encreased. And the dailie experience to this day shewed, that seldom or never any false coyners have been discovered by the noise of the hammer.

Another reason is, because the monie coyned with the hammer cannot be made exactly round, nor equal in weight and bigness, and is often grossly marked, and hath many other faults, which gives a great facility to the false coyners to counterfeit and mould it; it being very hard to discern between a clipped piece, and one not clipped. Besides, abundance of coyne is made too light, even at the mint: the said Blondeau himself has received some shillings—which he showed to the committee for the mint—which weighed some five, some six, and some seven-pence only; as to the contrarie, he received some that weighed seventeen, yea, and eighteen-pence, both of them made so at the mint; which inequalitie occasions several goldsmiths and others, who receive the monie from the mint, to cull or pick out the heaviest pieces to melt them; and after them, others do again cull or pick out the heaviest of them that are left, to transport them beyond seas; so that onely the light, the false, and the clipped monie remains within the

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state, which turns to the great ruin and destruction of commerce, and undoeth those poor people, who spend their monie little by little; for having some counterfeited or clipped pieces, they cannot put them off, but are forced to sell them with loss, unto the goldsmiths and others, who can spend them among other monies, or trade therein, and sell them again to the cash-keepers of the treasurers, bankers, merchants and others, who make them pass afterwards among other monies, so that they return again into the hands of the poor.

The reason why the workmen of the mint do make the coyn thus unequal in weight, and do not care to keep the true weights is, because it is sooner done. Besides, the said workmen may coyn sometimes their own silver, or may treat with those that bring their bullion to be coyned, because they do not render the coyne by tale, but by the pound, and so still there be more pieces in number, than there should be in a pound. And the monie so coyned, being distributed out of the mint, the officers themselves and the workmen of the mint, do cull or pick out the heaviest pieces to melt them again, as they themselves have confessed before the said committee for the mint. And that is the thing which, among themselves, they call the mysterie or secret of the mint, and which is the cause that by themselves and by their friends, they make use of all their joint power and credit, and will lay out all their estate, and leave no stone unmoved, to hinder the changing of the waie of coyning the monie.

As to the waie of remedying these inconveniences, and settling a good and constant order in the mint, it cannot be done, but by the waie propounded by the said Blondeau, by marking the coyn not onely on both the flat sides, but also upon the thickness or the edges. The coyn made

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after that waie, cannot be clipped without taking away the marks that are about the thickness, the which would bee easily perceived. Besides, the pieces will bee of an equal thickness and largeness; the half-crown of the ordinarie weight and bigness; the shilling and other pieces accordingly, and so equal among themselves, that it will be impossible to take the less (least) thing from anie of them, but it will shew less than the rest, and so will become not current; they cannot be altered by washing or any other waie, but they will lose their bignesse and glass (gloss), so that a blind man will easily feel it.

The ordinarie coyn marked onely on both the flat sides [can be*] moulded, as the experience do shew by the great quantity of false coyn moulded, which is current now; but when it is marked on the thickness or edges, the marks across the said edges can no way be moulded; and though they could, yet in that case they ought to be filed after round about, specially in the place where it hath been cast, to take away the superfluous metal; which filing cannot be done without spoiling and taking away the said marks about the edges; and consequently made easily known not to be current.

The monie ought to be adjusted piece after piece, equal in weight, both gold and silver: and for that end, it is requisite that an officer bee appointed in the mint, whose charge should bee, to weigh the monie, piece after piece, when it is finished; and in case he finds any piece unequal, or unhandsomely made, hee ought to reject it, and give it to be melted again, upon the charges of the undertaker of the mint, thereby to oblige him to bee so much the more careful: and for to hinder the connivance of the

* The words inserted between brackets, are inserted conjecturally, the original in these places being defaced.

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weigher appointed to weigh the said pieces, who might happen to juggle with the undertaker, another officer may bee appointed, to whom any of the people that shall find any of the new coined pieces lighter than it should bee, might repair within a convenient time, who shall change the said light pieces, all which shall bee put to the account of the said officer appointed for the weighing: but that cannot bee done, except the monie bee coyned after the said Peter Blondeau's waie; that is, marked on both sides, and upon the edges; else the weigher might pretend it had been clipped and made light since it went out of his hand. And the monie being coyned after the said waie, besides hindering or removing of the aforesaid inconveniences, it will raise or encrease the exchange by about ten per centum, to the advantage of this commonwealth.

It is also requisite to mention the standard, or goodness of the coyn, that any goldsmith, or refiner, or other whomsoever bee permitted to make essay of the current monie; and in case it bee not found of the standard, or goodness, they might be allowed to bring back to an appointed officer, the essay, and the rest of the pieces by them tried, to bee then tried again before the commissioners, and the trier of the mint; and if it bee found that the said coyn bee not of the true goodness, the discoverer shall be rewarded at the charges of the trier, that hee may have a due care, that no coyn comes out of the mint, but such as shall bee of a due value, and according to the order of the state.

The council of state, being willing to prevent the said disorders, was desirous to have the monie of the Commonwealth well coyned; and therefore having seen the patterns of coyns made after a new invention by the said Blondeau, and having treated by letters about the quantity of pieces that could be coyned in a week, and what they would cost, the

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said council caused the said Blondeau, the inventor of that waie of coining, to come to London, to treat with him by word of mouth, and to agree about the price of coyning the monie of this Commonwealth after his way. He being then arrived at London, the . . . of September 1649, the said council bestowed on him £40 sterling, and the late Mr. Frost, then secretarie to the said council, told him, before witnesses, that the state could not agree with him about the price; and that therefore he should be necessitated to retire himself, the state would indemnify him for his journey, both coming and returning, and for the time hee should have lost, and would bestow on him such a present, that hee would return satisfied. A while after, the said council of state ordered the committee of the council of state for the mint, to hear the said Blondeau's proposition, and report it to the said council.

The committee for the mint accordingly took into consideration, whether the said Blondeau should bee admitted to coyn the monie of this commonwealth; and having debated it, they resolved and approved that he should be admitted thereunto, provided his coyn and his proposition bee advantagious to the state.

Afterwards the said committee, having seriously considered and examined all the circumstances [regarding the] waie of coyning propounded by the said Blondeau, and having heard all the objections that could bee [made] against it, both by the master, officers, and workmen of the mint, or by any other of those who appeared in the business; upon debate of the whole, the said committee concluded and voted, that the said waie of coyning propounded by the said Blondeau was better, more advantagious, and more honourable for the state, than that which is now used in this Commonwealth.

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The master, the officers, and the workmen of the mint, told the committee, it was not likely the said Blondeau had done, himself, the pieces sent by him to the council of state. Besides, that it was an old invention, which they knew themselves, and that such pieces were onely made for curiosity, with very long time and great expence, and that it was impossible that that waie might be used about the ordinarie coyn, which is thin. They desired, that the said Blondeau might be commanded to make a trial of his skill for making some other pieces, and that they would do as much as the said Blondeau. Therefore the said commonwealth ordered both the said Blondeau, and the said workmen, to make their patterns and propositions respectively; and that hee that would make it with the most advantage to the state, should have the imployment.

At the time appointed, the workmen brought to the committee some pieces made after the old waie, which is known to them, and some big pieces of silver, stuffed within with copper; but they had drawn no propositions.

Likewise the said Blondeau brought in about 300 pieces, some half-crowns of the ordinarie weight and bigness, some shillings, sixpences, and some gold pieces, and presented his proposition, which having been reformed according to the pleasure of the said committee, it was received and accepted by the whole committee, who ordered it to be reported to the council of state, according to the order of the said council.

The said committee having then taken into consideration the big pieces of silver at the outside, and stuffed within with copper, made with the engins that are at the Tower, and well understood that the said pieces, because they are made of several pieces at the top, one of [which] will give no sound, so that a blinde man can easily discern it to be false;

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and having weighed the long time and great cost required for coyning of each piece, because they [are] made of 4 pieces, namely, one of copper, and one of silver at the top, another underneath, and one about, the which ought to be adjusted and soldered together, besides several other fashions, which cost more than the price of the lawful pieces; having also considered the great and heavie engins, and great number of tools and of men required for making of those counterfeited pieces, they acknowledged that it would be enough to dissuade any from undertaking it; the rich not being willing, and the poor being unable; and that though they should undertake it, they could not do it without being discovered. Besides, that the monie coyned after the waie of the said Blondeau, was so thin, that it cannot be so counterfeited.

Whereupon it [was thought] reasonable, that the said workmen of [the mint,] although they made use of the great and heavie engins that are in the Tower, yet for making of some tools they were in need of, and for the other charges of coyning about a dozen of pieces, have spent £100, as hee that pretends to have laid out the monie hath said before witnesses.

Afterwards, another order was given by the said committee, and some time limited to the said workmen, to draw and present their proposition for coyning of the monie, marked upon the thickness or edge, as that of the said Blondeau is. But after the expiration of the long time demanded by them, they brought such a proposition, that the said committee having read it over and over, could not understand it, nor the sense of it; and even those that brought it could not explain it; whereby it was apparent to the said committee, that they were not able to make their proposition good, much less to make the money after that

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waie which they avowed themselves before the committee. Yet they intreated the committee to allow them the time of . . . . . months more, to find, if possible, the new invention, and that the said Blondeau's proposition should be communicated unto them; upon which they might frame their own. They farther demanded that the said Blondeau, and the graver, should have orders to bring in all the pieces made by the said Blondeau for a trial, with the stamps or dies used for making of them: all which was granted them, upon that condition, that if, within the time allowed them, they could finde out the means to coyne the monie after the said Blondeau's way, and that thereupon hee should be sent back, hee should be indemnified, which was agreed by all. But they could never find out the said new invention for coyning the thin and neat pieces after that way, with the expedition requisite. Yet for all that, they made their propositions, which are in the hands of the chairman of the committee, as are also the said Blondeau's propositions, which [were kept by them] a year and a half.

The workmen [would that the committee should be] given to understand, [that there were 200] poor families, which are maintained by the work of the mint, [contrary to the] truth. For some officers of the mint have told before witnesses, that formerly their corporation was, at the most, of 40 masters; and that at this time there are hardly 30 masters, who are all rich, have lands or houses, and other waies of maintenance, without the work of the mint. And that when they had much monie to coyn, they were wonted to hire some journiemen, giving to some 18 pence, to some 15, and to some 12, for half a daie's work. Besides, in case the state admits of the said Blondeau to coyn the monie after his waie, and the workmen bee willing to work after the said waie, hee will oblige himself to teach them, and paie them a reasonable price.

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The said Blondeau doth not intend to have the gold, nor the silver in his custody, but only the charge of working the same, by such persons as the state shall be pleased to [appoint] thereunto.

He shall not have the power to admit any one to the works of the mint, without the consent and approbation of the state.

Nor will he [require the] keeping of the dies; or they shall be intrusted in the hands of such as the state shall admit to work.

In a word, he doth generally submit to whatever the state shall think reasonable, only he prays to consider that—

1. The exact equalitie that will bee effected by this waie, and invention of the said Blondeau, will hinder and avoid all the known corrupt practices about coyning.

2. The charge of the state concerning the same, considering all circumstances, will be less than in the old waie; and the honour of this commonwealth much the greater, in having their monies coyned in perfection, above, or beyond, any other state now known.

3. The said Blondeau came to London about three years and a half since, and hath no other imployment here, but to attend the pleasure of the state.

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XVIII.

LETTER FROM Dr. GROTEFEND.

Hochgeehrter Herr!

Ich benütze die erfreuliche Anwesenheit des berühmten Baronet John Herschel, um Ihnen für den kürzlich erhaltenen Aufsatz in den Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, meinen schuldigen Dank zu sagen. Ob mir gleich schon dessen Inhalt durch den frühern Auszug aus denselben bekannt war, so hat doch der Aufsatz in der Vollendung, welche Sie ihm gaben, ein weit größeres Interesse für mich. Ihre Bemerkungen über den Gebrauch der Goldringe statt des Geldes, haben mich so sehr angezogen, daß ich Sir William Bethams sinnreiche Entdeckung in Betreff der Goldringe und Goldketten zu einem besondern Studium meiner Muße machen werde. Meine deßhalb angestellten Untersuchungen sind noch im ersten Beginnen; aber so viel geht mir daraus schon zur Genüge hervor, daß der griechische Metaphrast von Cäsars gallischem Kriege (v. 12) die richtige Lesart vor sich hatte: "Utuntur (Britanni) aut nummo æreo, aut anulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo." Zu derselben Zeit als Cäsar in Britannien, wo man nur eine geringe Menge Eisen außer dem Zinn des Innern an der Seeküste gewann, und Kupfer vom Auslande erhielt, die eisernen Ringe statt des Geldes im Gebrauche fand, waren die Goldringe im innern Asien üblich, wenn man annehmen darf, daß die Goldringe und Muscheln, welche man in den indischen Topen neben den Münzen der verschiedensten Art gefunden hat, ebenfalls Münzenstelle in jenen Gegenden vertraten. Fragen wir nach dem Ursprunge dieses Gebrauches, so möchten Sie wohl im Hiob (xcii. 11.) die älteste Spur desselben gefunden haben, wo der goldene Ring der Kesita zugegeben wird, um deren hundert Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 19.) noch einen Acker in Canaan kaufte. Zu Isaaks Zeit (Gen. xxiv. 22 & 47) war der Goldring noch ein weiblicher Nasenschmuck oder auch ein Ohrring (Gen. xxxv. 4.), und nichts anderes scheinen die goldenen Ringe der Ismaeliten zu Gideons Zeit (Judic. viii. 24) gewesen zu seyn. Zu Homers Zeit aber reiheten die Phöniken dergleichen Ringe von Gold und anderem glänzenden Metalle zu Halsketten und Armbändern, welche sie in fremden Ländern feilboten (Odyss. xv. 459.), und nichts anderes war das goldene Kleinod (Odyss. xi. 327), um welches das schandbare Weib Eriphyle ihren Gemahl Amphiaraus verrieth. Merkwürdiger Weise wird dieses Halsband von Cicero monite genannt, und der

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Africaner von Benin und Calabar nennet noch jetzt sein Ringgeld Manilla, מָנֶה עֶלְיוֹן (höchstes Gewicht). Wie vom hebräischen מָנֶה, welches zugleich phönikisch war, die griechische Μνᾶ und römische Mina stammt, so könnte auch wohl monile ursprünglich ein phönikisches Wort sein, und eine Goldkette von höchstem Werthe bezeichnen; ja selbst moneta damit verwandt sein, wenn gleich Suidas dieses Wortes Entstehung auf eine andere Weise zu erklären sucht: denn moneta könnte wohl ursprünglich ein einzelnes Stück der ganzen Kette, monile, bezeichnet haben. Diesemnach wäre das Ringgeld der Phöniken erst nach Homers Zeit aus den einzelnen Stücken der ursprünglich kostbarsten Handelswaare, des Halsbandes oder Busengeschmeides der Weiber (denn monile wurde nur von Weibern, wie torques von Männern getragen), auf eine sehr natürliche Weise hervorgegangen. Kein Wunder daher, wenn andere Völker statt des Goldes ein anderes Material des Geldes wählten, welches ebenfalls zu Halsbändern und anderm Geschmeide sich reihen ließ, wie Muscheln, Perlen, Koris und Gemmen. Gemmen wählten nach dem Erykias des Aeschines die Aethiopen, von welchen die Aegyptier es lernten. Da aber der Orientale seine Ringe zugleich als Amulete benutzte, was war natürlicher, als daß der Aegyptier seinen Gemmen Scarabäengestalt gab? Wie der Phönike Erzringe zur Scheidemünze benutzte, so der Aegyptier Scarabäen von gebackenem Thone. Der goldreiche Lydier dagegen bildete die ägyptischen Scarabäen wieder in Golde nach, wie der Aeginete in Silber. Während aber der Epheſier eine Biene an die Stelle des Scarabäes setzte, wählte der Aeginete eine Schildkröte, der Attiker eine Eule, der Böotier einen Schild, und das anfangs klumpige Geld wurde immer dünner und zierlicher, bis es im Mittelalter zu bloßem Bleche ward. Wenn nun aber die Phöniken erst nach Homers Zeit anfingen einzelne Glieder der kostbaren Halsbänder zu Gelde zu benutzen, so ist dieses auf eine schnellere Weise verschiedentlich abgeändert als man bisher geglaubt hat: und dieses scheint mir auch ganz der Natur gemäß. Wenn die Bücher der Chronica (1. Chron. xxix. 7.) schon von Dariken zu Davids und Salomo's Zeit sprechen, so hat der Verfasser derselben dergleichen Nachrichten, wie 2. Reg. xii 4., nach dem Sprachgebrauche seiner Zeit umgeändert. Denn persische Dariken konnten die Juden erst in der babylonischen Gefangenschaft kennen lernen, und selbst dieses würde noch zu früh erscheinen, wenn sie nicht schon bei Esra, ii. 69. & viii. 27, und Nehemia, viii. 20. ff. vorkämen. Auch diese Dariken werden, Esra, viii. 26. ff., noch zu dem gewogenen Golde gerechnet, und dürfen daher nicht mit den später geprägten Münzen verglichen werden. Im Isaias, iii. 21. gehören die Ringe und Stirnreife noch mit den Beuteln,

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in welche (2. Reg. v. 23.) Geld gebunden wird, zum Weiberschmucke. Diese Ideen habe ich in aller Eile zusammengetragen, und können daher mit der Zeit noch wohl eine Abänderung erleiden; ich glaubte sie aber Ihnen nicht vorenthalten zu dürfen, weil sie Ihnen vielleicht Anlaß zu weitern Forschungen geben können. Daß Pheidon in Aegina noch kein eigentliches Geld prägte, sondern nur Maaße und Gewichte festsetzte, das erste Gold aber später in Lydien geprägt wurde, habe ich in dem Ihnen früher zugesandten Aufsatze ausgeführt. Man muß in dergleichen Nachrichten immer auf die erste Quelle zurückgehen: spätere Schriftsteller berichten manches, was nur durch Mißverständniß entstand. So ist über das erste Geld in Italien und Rom, wie über das erste Geld in Athen, von spätern Geschichtschreibern so vieles gefabelt, welches, als sich selbst widerlegend, gar keine Beachtung verdient. Es freut mich daher, daß auch Sie auf dergleichen Nachrichten keinen Werth gelegt haben: was uns noch vorhandene Münzen lehren, bleibt immer das Vorzüglichere, und eben deßhalb behauptet eine numismatische Gesellschaft, deren Hauptgegenstand immer die erhaltenen Münzen selbst sind, einen hohen Rang in der Wissenschaft.

Hochachtungsvoll mich fernerer Gewogenheit empfehlend,

Ihr

ergebenster Diener

G. F. Grotefend.

Hannover den 25. Juli 1838.

[TRANSLATION.]

I AVAIL myself of the acceptable visit of the illustrious Baronet, Sir John Herschel, to express to you my thanks, for the lately received essay on the proceedings of the Numismatic Society. Although I was already acquainted with its contents, from the abstract which I had received before, I am yet much more interested with the essay in its complete form. Your observations upon the use of gold rings, instead of money, have interested me so much, that I shall employ my leisure in studying particularly Sir W. Betham's ingenious discovery respecting gold rings and gold chains.

The investigations which I have pursued on this subject are, as yet, quite in their infancy. I have been able,

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however, to satisfy myself upon this point—that the Greek translator of Cæsar's Gallic War (v. 12), had before him the correct text, 'Utuntur (Britanni) aut nummo æreo, aut anulis ferriis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo' —At the same time that Cæsar found iron rings used as money in Britain (where only a small quantity of iron was obtained on the sea coast, besides the tin of the interior, and copper obtained from foreign parts), gold rings were also used in the inland parts of Asia, if we may assume that the gold rings and muscle-shells, which have been found in the Indian topes, together with coins of very different kinds, supplied the place of coin in those countries. On enquiring into the origin of this custom, you may have discovered the oldest trace of it in Job xlii. 11, where the golden ring (the *kesita**) was presented; for 100 *of which* Jacob, also, bought a field in Canaan (Gen. xxxiii. 19):—In the time of Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 22,30,47), the gold ring was a woman's nose-jewel, as also an earring (Gen. xxxv. 4); and such seem to have been also the gold rings of the Ishmaelites, in the time of Gideon (Judges viii. 24). Now in Homer's time the Phœnicians strung together such rings, as those of gold and other shining metals, into necklaces and bracelets, which they offered for sale in foreign countries, (Odyss xv. 459); and of the same kind was the golden treasure (Od. xi. 327); for which the shameless woman Eriphyle betrayed her husband Amphiaraus. It is remarkable that this necklace is called by Cicero '*monile*,'

* קְשִׂיטָה (*keseetah*) from קְשִׂיט *agnus, numus*, sub agni figura (*Buxtorf*). The intention of our valued correspondent is not quite clear; *keseetah* meaning always either a piece of money or a lamb, and is so rendered by our translators, both in Job xlii. 11 and Gen. xxxiii. 19, the passages alluded to. נֶזֶם זָהָב (*nezem zahav*) is "an earring of gold," and נֶזֶם (*nezem*) "earring," is the word that occurs in all the passages here cited. —*Ed. N. C.*

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and the Africans of Benin and Calabar, still call their ring money 'manilla,' מָנָה עֶלְיוֹן (*greatest weight*), as from the Hebrew word מָנָה, which was also Phœnician, are derived the Greek Μνᾶ, and the Latin '*Mina*:' so also it may be that '*monile*' was originally a Phœnician word, signifying a gold chain of very high value; and even '*moneta*' may be connected with it, although Suidas tries to explain the origin of this word in another manner; for, '*moneta*' may originally have signified one single link of the whole chain '*monile*.' According to this, the Phœnician ring-money would have had its origin in Homer's time, in a very natural way, from the single links of what were, at first, the most valuable articles of trade, the necklaces or bosom-ornaments of women, for the '*monile*' was worn only by women, as the '*torquis*' by men: it is no wonder then, if other nations chose, instead of gold, another material for money, which was also capable of being strung into necklaces, and other ornaments; as muscle shells, pearls, cowries, and precious stones. According to the Erycia of Æschines, the Ethiopians chose precious stones, and the Egyptians learned it from them. As, however, the Oriental made use of his rings as amulets, what was more natural than that the Egyptian should give to his precious stones the shape of Scarabæi—as the Phœnician used metal rings for small coins, so the Egyptian used Scarabæi of baked clay. The Lydian again, who abounded in gold, copied the Egyptian Scarabæi in gold, as the Æginetan did in silver; while, however, the Ephesian put a bee in the place of the Scarabæus, the Æginetan chose a turtle, the Athenian an owl, the Bœotian a shield; and what was at first a massive piece of money became by degrees more thin and shapely, till, in the middle ages, it was reduced to a simple flat plate. But, if it was in Homer's time that the Phœnicians began to use links of valuable necklaces as

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money, the alteration was more sudden than has been hitherto supposed; and this, in my opinion, is quite natural. If the book of Chronicles (1 Chron xxix. 7) speaks of *Darics** as early as the time of David and Solomon; their author must have altered that sort of information (2 Kings xii. 4), according to the mode of speaking in his own time, for the Jews could not have become acquainted with the Persian Darics till the Babylonian captivity: from this it would seem to be still too early, did they not occur in (Ezra ii. 69; viii. 27; and Nehemiah vii. 70); and these darics, too, are reckoned (Ezra viii. 27) in weighed gold, and must not, therefore, be confounded with the later stamped coin. In (Isaiah iii. 21), rings, forehead bands,† together with the bags, in which (2 Kings v. 23) money is tied up, belong to the women's ornaments.

I have put together these ideas in great haste, and they may, therefore, easily admit of alteration upon further consideration. I thought, however, that I ought not to keep them back from you, because they may, perhaps, give rise to further investigations on your part. In the essay which I have already sent you, I have shewn that Phidon did not stamp any actual coin at Ægina, but only established weights and measures; and that the first money was coined later in Lydia.

In information of this kind, we ought always to go back

* אַדַרְכֹנִים (*adarconim*), here translated *dariken* by our correspondent, occurs only twice in the Bible, in 1 Chron. xxix. 7, and in Ezra viii. 27; and in both instances, our translators have rendered it "drams," as also in the other passages, where the word is דַּרְכְּמוֹנִים (*darcmonim*), though both words are evidently intended for "Darics." The Books of Chronicles are attributed to Ezra, and the mention of Cyrus at the close, accounts for the use of this Persic word.—*Ed. N. C.*

† In Isaiah iii. 21, the words are "rings and nose-jewels;" and the word טַבָּעוֹת (*tabangoth*) is rendered "rings," while נֶזֶם (*nezem*) is rendered "jewels"—נִזְמֵי הָאָף (*nizmey-hahaph*) "ornaments for the nose."—*Ed. N. C.*

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to original sources; later writers present a great deal of information, which arises only from mistake. Much fabulous matter has thus been related, by later historians, about the first money in Italy and Rome, as also about the first money in Athens, which, as even contradictory to itself, desires no regard whatever. I am glad, therefore, that you too, have set no value upon this kind of information; what we learn from coins that still exist, is always to be preferred; and on this account a Numismatic Society, whose chief object is the preserved coins themselves, holds a high rank in science.

Commending myself to your future favours, with great respect, Your faithful Servant, G. F. GROTEFEND.

To DR. LEE, *Pres. Num. Soc.*

XIX.

THE EAGLE AND THUNDERBOLT ON THE COINS OF ROME AND SYRIA.

BY SAMUEL SHARPE, ESQ.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, December 27, 1838.]

THE greater part of the coins of the Ptolemies, the kings who governed Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great, have on one side the Eagle and Thunderbolt, which may easily be shewn to be the same as the Eagle and Sun, the well known hieroglyphic for king, or Pharaoh upon the earlier Egyptian monuments. The coins, indeed, of Cleopatra Cocce and her sons, which have on them two eagles, because there were two sovereigns reigning together, are alone enough to prove this meaning.

In the series of Roman consular coins, as engraved by Goltzius, we find seven coins having the same eagle and thunderbolt, which in some cases may be proved, and in the other cases seem likely, to have been used in Rome, in boast of the senate having exercised some act of sovereignty

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over Egypt. As there are also several other coins in the same series, on which we see marks of the Roman dealings with Egypt, and which bear upon this argument, I shall bring them forward in the order of time, as I meet with them.

The first time that we meet with the Romans in the history of Egypt, indeed the first time that they had been heard of out of Italy as a nation, is in the year B. C. 274, when Pyrrhus king of Macedonia had been beaten by them in Italy, and Ptolemy Philadelphus, the greatest king of his day, sent an embassy to Rome to wish them joy of their success. The senate sent back to Egypt four ambassadors to make a treaty of friendship with the great king; and three years afterwards, when two of these ambassadors were chosen consuls, we see the fruits of their visit to Alexandria; we learn from Pliny, and the coins, that C. Fabius Pictor and Q. Ogulnius Gallus then coined the first silver *denarii* that were seen in Rome.

It is not, however, till many years later, till Rome and Egypt had changed places with one another, till the Romans spoke as masters, and the Ptolemies obeyed the haughty orders of the senate, that we find on the Roman coins those striking traces of their dealings with Egypt. In the year B. C. 204, this great kingdom and its wide provinces, in Africa, in Asia, and even in Europe, weakened by the vices and misgoverment of Ptolemy Philopator, passed into the hands of his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, then a child only five years old; and it was in danger of being conquered, and having its provinces shared between the kings of Syria and Macedonia, when the ministers of the infant autocrat put their country under the care of Rome. The senate then sent M. Æmilius Lepidus to govern Egypt in their name, under the modest title of tutor to the young king.

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This high honour was not forgotten by Lepidus, when he afterwards struck his consular coins. On one side of them we see the city of Alexandria, represented by the head of a woman crowned with walls and turrets, with the word ALEXANDREA; and on the other side is the Roman in his toga, holding the diadem over the head of the young Ptolemy, with the words TVTOR · REG among his other titles.

We now come to the first eagle and thunderbolt that we meet with on the Roman coins. It is on one struck by Sextus Allius Catus, when he was Curule Ædile, in the eighth year of his reign; and though we know nothing that he had to do with Egypt, beyond being employed, according to Livy, in bringing coin from Alexandria for the use of Rome, yet it seems probable, and will in the course of these pages be made still more so, that it was for some act of sovereignty which he then exercised in Egypt on behalf of the senate, that he put these marks of Egyptian royalty on his coins.

Forty years later the senate was again called upon to save Egypt from being conquered by Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, and then to settle the quarrels between Ptolemy Philometor, and Ptolemy Evergetes II., who were fighting for the crown of Egypt. This the senate did by sending away the younger brother to reign in Cyrene. We do not know who were the Roman ambassadors who made this award, but Cassius Longinus who was consul the next year, and Juventius Thalna who was consul the year after, both put the thunderbolt and eagle on their coins, and thereby lead us to believe that they so far governed Egypt in the name of the senate.

The next eagle and thunderbolt is on a coin of C. Marius, who seems to be the son of the general who was seven times

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consul, rather than the great man himself. But, in either case, it seems to point to some share, that he may have had, either in seizing or governing the province of Cyrene, which the senate took from Egypt, in the year B. C. 97.

The next time that we meet with these marks of Egyptian royalty, is in the coins of Lentulus Sura, and Aurelius Cotta, who were consuls; the first in the tenth, and the second in the fifteenth years of Ptolemy Neus Dionysius. As he spent many of the first years of his reign in begging and bribing the senate to acknowledge him as king, we can well understand that these Roman consuls may have had some good cause to claim this distinction; indeed, Cicero tells us in his second oration against Rullus, that in the consulship of Cotta, the senate found it necessary to send a fleet to Alexandria to enforce their orders.

About the same time we find a coin of Licinius Crassus, with a crocodile on one side, and the prow of a ship on the other; which must be understood to mean that he beat the Egyptian fleet in the mouth of the Nile: and this meaning of it may be said to be proved by a coin of Julius Cæsar, which has on it a crocodile, with the words AEGYPTO CAPTA.

For the last time before the fall of Egypt, we find the eagle and thunderbolt on the coins of C. Sosius, the friend of Marc Antony, who at the same time put the head of Antony, who was then king of Egypt, on the other side of his coins. This was the last year that Antony's party was uppermost in Rome; and he was, for the third time, made consul elect for the coming year; but before he entered upon office, war was declared against him by Octavianus: he was beaten at Actium, and Egypt made a province of Rome.

After this time we often meet with the same emblems

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on the Roman coins under the early Cæsars; but enough have been brought forward to shew that they were borrowed from Egypt, and always meant as a boast of some sway over that country.

If we now turn to the history of Syria, we see that when Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, quarrelled with Demetrius Soter, he set up Alexander Balas, as a pretender to the throne of Syria. Alexander, with the help of his Egyptian ally, overthrew Demetrius, and slew him in battle. He was then acknowledged as king of Syria, and he married the daughter of the king of Egypt. On this he put the Ptolemaic eagle and thunderbolt on his coins; and we can hardly be mistaken in saying, that unlike the Romans, he did so to acknowledge his debt to Ptolemy Philometor.

Alexander Balas, however, soon quarrelled with his father-in-law, who recalled his daughter, and then turned those forces against him, which had only just seated him on the throne. Philometor sent for Demetrius, the son of his late enemy Demetrius Soter, and marched with him against Alexander Balas; and in that very year, as we learn from the date of the coins, Demetrius put on them his own head, with the eagle and thunderbolt.

Antiochus VI., the son of Alexander Balas, was for a short time made use of as a puppet by an ambitious general, and seated on the throne of Syria; and he also, most likely in imitation of his father, put the eagle and thunderbolt on his coins.

These are the chief of the coins which were struck with the eagle and thunderbolts, before the fall of the Ptolemies; and when taken together, and thus set side by side with the facts in history, seem to prove that they are all copied from the coins of Egypt.

There are, however, some other coins which may be

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mentioned. One of Pyrrhus, the last of the Macedonian kings, the king who was led captive to Rome, has the same eagle and thunderbolt; but the gaps which disfigure history, are unfortunately so wide, that we know not what he had to do with Egypt. There is another coin still more important. It has on one side a head meant for a portrait; on the other side, the eagle and thunderbolt with the words ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ·ΕΥΑΓΟΡΟΥ·ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ, *Of king Evagoras, of the Cyprians;* and the whole is within a branch of laurel. Now, Evagoras reigned over Cyprus before the time of Alexander the Great, and joined Acoris, king of Egypt, in a league against the invasion of Persia, Hence, if this coin were made in the reign of the king whose name it bears, instead of being copied from the Egyptian coins, it must have been the model from which the Ptolemies copied. But this is very unlikely, we may almost say impossible. There is nothing about the coin, as shown in the engravings, which agrees with such an age, and it is much more likely to have been coined in Cyprus, after that island had been conquered by the Romans, and to have had the head of Evagorus put upon it, in honour of the greatest king that this land ever had to boast of. The coin is very much in the style of that of king Perseus, last mentioned.

XX.

THE CITY MEDAL.

BY PERMISSION OF THE ROYAL ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE,

We have the gratification of giving with our present number an engraving of the city medal, executed by Mr.

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William Wyon. Many of our readers are aware, that when her majesty dined at Guildhall last year, that artist published a small medal in commemoration of the event; having on one side the head of the Queen, and on the reverse the representation of the Guildhall, with an inscription on the exergue. The city authorities took the hint, and the chairman of the Royal Entertainment Committee had an interview with Mr. Wyon, and proposed that he should execute a medal on a much larger scale, to record the visit of the youthful Queen. The following is an abstract of the report of the committee.—

"To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of London, in Common Council assembled."

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, your committee appointed to conduct the entertainment to Her Majesty in Guildhall, on Thursday, the 9th day of November last, to whom it was referred to provide a suitable and appropriate medal, commemorative of an event so highly honourable to the City of London, and to whom it was also referred, to make their humble application to Her Majesty, that she would be pleased to do the city the honour to sit for her picture, and to signify her royal pleasure therein; and that they do at the same time express to Her Majesty, the deep and grateful sense this court will ever retain of Her Majesty's gracious condescension, in honouring their late entertainment in the Guildhall with her royal presence, and that of the royal family, and to give such other directions in respect thereof, as we might see most fit; do certify, that having considered the best course to be pursued with respect to providing the medal, we were attended by Mr. William Wyon, one of the officers of Her Majesty's mint, who laid before us several profiles of Her Majesty, for the new coinage; and we agreed with him to provide a medal, bearing on the obverse Her Majesty's head with a tiara, with the words VICTORIA · REGINA, and on the re-

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verse, a representation of the front of Guildhall, with the royal standard and the words IN HONOUR OF HER MAJESTY'S VISIT TO THE CORPORATION OF LONDON, ON THE 9th OF NOVEMBER, 1837, &c. &c.

The report concludes with an account of the application of the committee to Her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to sit for her portrait, and Her Majesty's assent to the request.

As a work of art, this medal will speak for itself; as a portrait of Her Majesty, its fidelity is acknowledged by the most competent judges.

XXI.

ON THE MEDALLIONS OF CARACALLA AND GETA, WITH THE HEAD OF THE LATTER ERASED.

ON the 21st of June last, a paper was read to the Numismatic Society by Mr. Samuel Birch, on the brass medallions of Caracalla and Geta, struck at Pergamus and at Stratonicea, with the head of the latter erased from the field. These medallions have already been noticed by Sestini in his "Descrizione del Museo Hedervariano,"* and supposed by that learned writer to have been thus defaced in consequence of a prescript of Caracalla. He states, that in the collection alluded to, there are seven medallions struck in honour of the family of Severus, and that the head of Geta on the pieces in question, was doubtless destroyed, together with the inscriptions and every other memorial of the unfortunate prince. Spartian does not allude to this endeavour of Caracalla to blot out the memory of his murdered brother; but Dio distinctly says, that the images of Geta were destroyed; and that even comic poets were not suffered to call their servants by the name of Geta.

* Parte II. 4to, Ferinze, 1828, p. 233.

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Mr. Birch remarks, that it is not a little singular that the erasure should have been made on the money of a remote Asiatic town, while the coinage of the imperial mint of Rome remained untouched. From this circumstance the writer is led to conclude, that the erasure was effected by the local authorities at Pergamus and Stratonicea, who endeavoured to cultivate the favour of Caracalla by this spontaneous act of servility, in the true spirit of the times, and in perfect accordance with the acts of the municipal functionaries, "quo nobiliores eo promptiores ad servitium." Both these towns struck several coins in honour of Severus and his family, which generally bear the portraits of its members, thus: Severus and Julia Domna—Caracalla and Geta—Caracalla and Plautilla. The offence to Caracalla was the association of Geta in the empire under the title of Augustus. On the coins bearing his effigy alone, or the title of Cæsar only, the portrait remains uninjured.

The authority of the medals is thus as conflicting as that of the historians, who represent Caracalla as shedding tears at his brother's statue or portrait, and indiscriminately murdering Geta's partisans or his own adherents. Popular indignation manifested itself immediately after the commission of the fraticidal act; and to wipe off the obloquy of the deed, Caracalla ultimately allowed his brother to be styled "Divus," with the remark, "Sit divus, dum non sit vivus;" and the historian continues, "Denique eum inter divos retulit, atque ideo utcunque rediit cum forma in gratiam parricida."

The mint of Stratonicea commemorates this fact by the countermark of ΘΕΟΥ; and a small head placed below the erased bust, or on the erasure. But this is not all: on these coins, which bear the heads of Severus and Domna, there is the countermark of a small head, and the letters

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ΓΕΤ·ΘΕΟΥ, which leaves no doubt of the meaning or application of the latter word. The same countermark also appears on a medallion of Caracalla and Plautilla.

The coins alluded to in this paper are as follows:—

PERGAMUS IN MYSIA.

ΑΥΤΟ·ΚΑΙ·Μ·ΑΥΡΗ·ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC . . . . . Busts of Caracalla and Geta in military attire, facing that of Caracalla to the left, and Geta to the right *erased*. Countermark, a small head.

Rev.—ЄΠΙ·CΤΡΤ·ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ·ΤЄΡΠΑΝΔΡΟΥ. A female figure standing, her head surmounted by the calathus; in her right hand a patera, in her left a cornucopia, Victory behind, placing a garland on her head. In the exergue, ΠЄΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ·Β(?) ΝЄΩΚΟΡΩΝ.——Æ. *Medallion*. Specimens of this medallion are in the collection of the British Museum, and in the cabinet of Mr. Burgon.

STRATONICEA IN CARIA.

I.

. . . . . ΚΑΙ·Λ·ЄЄ·CЄΟΥΗΡΟC . . . . . Laureated busts of Severus and Domna face to face; between them a small beardless helmed head, countermarked with ΓЄΤ and ΘЄΟΥ.

Rev.—ЄΠΙΜЄΛΗ · · · ΤΙ · · · ΑΡΙCΤЄΑ·CΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚЄΩΝ. Diana Leucophryne standing with her attributes; a star and moon in the field. *Sestini*, loco. sup. p. 232.

II.

ΑΥΤ·Κ·Μ·ΛΥΡ·ΑΝΤΩΝ · · · ΙΝΟC·C · · · Λ · · · C·ΓЄΤΑC·Κ. The busts of Caracalla and Geta, facing that of Caracalla laureated and to the left, and of Geta to the right erased, as well as his name. Countermark, a small human head.

Rev.—ΠΡ·ΖΩCΙΜΟΥ·ΤΟΥ·ΠΡΟCΙCΤΟΥ·CΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚЄΩΝ. Severus in military attire, on horseback before an altar, holding in his left hand a spear——Æ. *Medallion*. *Sestini*, loco. sup. p. 280.

This medallion is figured by Sestini, who probably considers the letters ΠΡ. to stand for ΠΡοδικου; as he mentions the local government of the city to have been under Cura-

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tori among other officers. They might, however, stand for ΠΡυτάνεως, but the ΠΡ in these instances is generally *affixed* to the name.

III.

Obverse—as the preceding, but with the countermark of ΘΕΟΥ.

Rev.—ЄΠΙ · ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟϹ · · · · · ϹΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚЄΩΝ · · A female figure standing full faced, her head surmounted by the flower of the lotus; in her right hand a patera, in her left, a torch held erect. A dog reclining at her feet and looking up to the goddess.——Æ. *Medallion. Sestini*, ibid.

The goddess is Diana Luna, the scene of whose loves with Endymion, was laid at M Latmus or Lathymus in Caria.

IV.

Obverse—as the preceding.

Rev.— · · · · · · ΙΑϹΟΝΟϹ · ϹΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚЄΩΝ. A female figure walking to the left, her head surmounted by the calathus and lunated disk; in her right hand a torch held erect; the object held in her right hand obliterated.——Æ. *Medallion. Cabinet of Mr. Burgon.*

Mr. Birch observes, that this medallion has been restruck, but that the type is similar to that of the preceding, indicating the same goddess; and that the lotus flower of Sestini is probably the calathus and disk, the common head attire of Diana in her character of Hecate, or the full and dichotomized disk of the moon.

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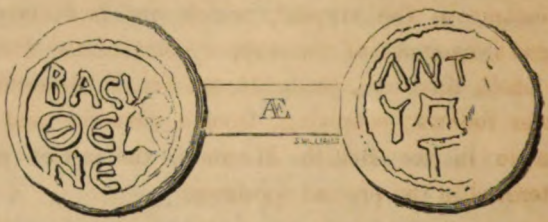

XXII.

OBSERVATIONS ON A COIN OF CLEOPATRA AND M. ANTONY.

[In a letter to the Editor.]

In answer to your friend's questions, respecting the curious coin above engraved, the following observations occur to me. If you should deem them worthy of insertion in your next number, they are much at your service.

It is not unknown to you that we are indebted to Haym for the first notice of this coin;[1] and the merit is due to him of having correctly attributed it, and noticed its date. It may, however, be observed, that the indifferent preservation (*mediocre conservazione*) of the specimen which he had under his eye, probably led him into the error of reading and engraving ΝΕΑ instead of ΝΘ, for it is very unlikely that the word ΝΕΑ should be found on it.

The coin having on each side merely an inscription occupying *the field*, may be cited, as affording one of the few examples known, of a coin without any *type* or representation on it. This circumstance renders it also, at first ight, rather a dubious matter, which side was originally ntended as the *obverse;* but as the style of *the minting* appears to be decidedly Egyptian, this inquiry I shall con-

[1] Tesoro Britannico, 1720. Vol. ii. p. 171. plate 1. No. 5.

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sider as solved, by following the peculiar and well-known indications in this respect, which are uniformly to be observed on most of the copper coins of the Ptolemies. We shall, therefore, probably not err, in describing our coin as follows; supplying, from a very fine and perfect example in the British Museum, the letters partially obliterated in the present specimen.

Obverse.—ΒΑCΙΛ · ΘΕΑ · ΝΕ.
Rev.—ΑΝΤΩ · ΥΠΑ · Γ.

I have often had occasion to remark that *coins are the best commentators on coins;* and on this occasion, we may, with advantage, call in the aid of an unerring, and most satisfactory commentary on the above truncated words, by referring to another coin (also in the British Museum), without which there might, perhaps, arise a diversity of opinion as to the true reading of both inscriptions, especially that on the obverse. It will, however, be readily conceded, on referring to the following description, that there can be no doubt that the coin under consideration was also struck in honour of Cleopatra, and M. Antony.

Obverse.—Portrait of Cleopatra ΒΑCΙΛΙCCΑ · ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΘΕΑ · ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ.

Rev.—Portrait of M · Antony M · ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC · ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ · ΤΡΙΩΝ · ΑΝΔΡΩΝ.

Returning to our coin, therefore, we interpret the inscription on its obverse, Queen [Cleopatra] the younger (or new) Goddess [Isis], and that on the reverse [Marcus] Antonius, consul for the third time. It is precisely the letters ΥΠΑ[τος] · Γ. (equivalent to COS · III., so often seen on Roman denarii) which gives the coin before us a degree of interest, perhaps, unexpected, as it supplies us with a date; and helps us to ascertain on what occasion the title o

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the younger goddess, or *the new Isis* was probably given to Cleopatra.

According to Eckhel,[2] Antony became consul for the third time A. U. C. 723, (or B. C. 31), in the early part of which year our coin was most probably struck at Alexandria: for as the battle of Actium was fought in September, and those disasters immediately followed which led to the death of Antony and Cleopatra soon afterwards, there appears to be no period of the year B. C. 31, except the early part of it, to which the date on the coin can apply. It is remarkable, that to this period some of the most extraordinary passages in the lives of Antony and Cleopatra are to be referred. We learn from the 53rd Book of Dion Cassius (which comprises the history of the years of Rome, 722 and 723, B. C. 32 and 31), that among many other abuses of the religious ceremonies of the times, Cleopatra caused herself to be drawn about in public as a goddess, in a golden car, and that she and Antony "*were painted, and otherwise represented, together, the one as Osiris and Bacchus, and the other as Selene and Isis*[3].

Plutarch, in his life of Antony, referring to about the same period of time, relates, that having assembled the Alexandrians in the Gymnasium, Antony made an oration to the people, sitting on a throne of gold; and that Cleopatra, who occupied a similar throne by his side, "*wore the sacred robe of Isis, and gave answers to the people as the new* [or young] *Isis.*"[4]

These events, as recorded by the authorities cited, immediately preceded the date of the coin before us, and there-

[2] Doct. Num. Vet. Vol. vi. p. 48.

[3] Συνεγράφετό τε αὐτῇ, καὶ συνεπλάττετο, αὐτὸς μὲν Ὄσιρις καὶ Διόνυσος, ἐκείνη δὲ, Σελήνη τε καὶ Ἶσις, λέγοντες εἶναι.—*Dion Cas. Lib. LIII.*

[4] "Στολὴν ἱερὰν Ἰσιδος ἐλάμβανε, καὶ νέα Ἶσις ἐχρημάτιζε." *Plutarch : vit : Ant.* § 54.

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fore render needless any further explanation of the purport of its singular inscription, with which it is also sufficiently obvious that we may connect an intention to honour and commemorate the personages alluded to. That the people of Egypt had been long familiar with the ceremony of deifying their kings, is proved by the inscription on the Rosetta stone.

In admitting, however, that it was the intention of the Alexandrians to honour Cleopatra and Antony by striking the coin under consideration, it will be perceived that it was *not as mortals that they were so honoured.* I must be allowed here to refer to an opinion which I formerly expressed,[5] and would adduce this coin in support of that opinion. It must not be for a moment supposed, that it was ever intended as *a medal* struck for the purpose of commemoration alone, as is the case with modern medals ; on the contrary, it can be proved to have been *a current coin.*

In a copy of Havercamp, before me, is preserved a set of plates, of the coins of the kings of Egypt, which were never published, and appear to have been suppressed, perhaps for want of the letter press : among the coins engraved on these plates, in addition to a specimen corresponding in size, and every other particular, with the coin under consideration, I find an engraving of a coin half the size, and bearing precisely the same inscription; the one being size No. 7, of Mionnet, and the other size No. 4½. The coins are very well engraved, and represented of their real dimensions; so that this plate proves the existence of two sizes of the coin we have been considering, and leads to the conclusion that it was unquestionably struck, (as were all other ancient coins), for current money only.

Brunswick Square,
Dec. 19*th*, 1838.

THOMAS BURGON.

[5] Numismatic Journal, Vol. I. page 124, Art. XVIII.

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MISCELLANIES.

COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL COINS, BELONGING TO DR. DE SPREWITZ.—The following account of this celebrated collection will afford much curious information to the reader of Oriental literature, and more especially to every admirer of Oriental Numismatics.

Dr. de Spréwitz, a Russian counsellor, known as an able and zealous numismatist, has spent much time and labour, during his residence in Moscow, in forming an extensive collection of Oriental coins. Advanced age, however, and a consequent change of circumstances, now compel him to give a description of the contents of his cabinet, under the hope that some more youthful labourer in the same department, or some public society, may be induced to purchase the entire series.

This collection has been arranged by Mr. Frähn, counsellor of state, and director of the Asiatic Museum at St. Petersburg; and it appears from his *Descriptive Catalogue*, that there is a sum total of 1018 pieces, viz. 15 of gold, 874 of silver, and 103 of copper. They are distributed into the following classes:—

1.	Coins of the Caliphs:	
	a. Omayades	16 pieces.
	b. Abbasides	270 "
2.	Ispehehdis	30 "
3.	Edrisides	7 "
4.	Aghlebides	2 "
5.	Tahirides	25 "
6.	Samanides	111 "
7.	Princes of the Bulgarians	2 "
8.	Boowihides	2 "
9.	Siyarides	1 "
10.	Merwanides	1 "
11.	Turk-Chans Hoei-ke	9 "
12.	Seldshukides	8 "
13.	Atabekes	7 "
14.	Artokides	6 "
15.	Choresmi Shahs	5 "
16.	Dshudshides (Khans of the Golden Hord) .	259 "
17.	Khans of the Crimm	5 "

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18. Hulaguides	13	pieces.
19. Ilechanides	3	"
20. Dshagataides	5	"
21. Timoorides, Kybanides, &c.	9	"
22. Baboorides	5	"
23. Osmanides (Turks)	40	"
24. Dynasts of Persia	39	"
25. Pagratides	26	"
26. Different Dynasties, and uncertain ones	20	"
27. Miscellaneous Coins, Chinese, Japanese, &c.	20	"

In addition to the above, there are five Mahomedan seals, and two scymetars, with Persian inscriptions.

This splendid collection is well known; M. Frähn who has arranged, classified, and catalogued it, speaks of it in his dissertation on three coins of the Wolga-Bulghares, in the "Memoires de l'Acad. Impér. des Sc. de St. Petersb. VIme. serie," 1830: and again in his dissertation on the coins of the Ulus Dshudgi, St. Petersb. 1832. Those coins which were procured for this collection from the cabinet of M. Pflug are mentioned by him in his work "*Beiträge zur Muhamedanischen Numismatik.*" The short treatise of this author, "De Musei Sprewitziani Mosquae Numis Cupreis," refers to a former collection of Dr. de Sprewitz, now in the cabinet of the university of Charkow.

The following observations will shew the great value and importance of the collection.

Among the coins of the Caliphs are two most remarkable ones of silver, of the year of the Hegira 148, coined at Kufa and at Arran; the only coins heretofore known of that year, are one of copper (Bokharra) in the cabinet of St. Petersburgh; and one of silver (Muhammedan) at Stockholm. The collection at St. Petersburgh possesses but a fragment of a silver coin of the year 194 Serendsch; but in that of Dr. de Sprewitz, there is a specimen in fine preservation; there is also a silver coin of the year 199, coined by a Tobbatoka, under the sovereignty of Mahmoun, which is particularly rare. About sixteen years ago, by a lucky accident, the cabinet at Gotha produced a coin of Ali Kidha, Mahmoun's proclaimed successor (*Hall. Literat. Zeit.* 1820, No. 286), with which it was possible to complete a fragment of a similar coin of the year 204, published by M. Frähn (Prolusio, p. 19, &c.). Since that time M. Frähn has published a similar coin, belonging to the cabinet of Mr. Nejelow; a third specimen of the year 204, coined at Mahommedia, is in the collection of M. de Sprewitz, in whose possession are likewise one of each of the years 208, 209, 210 (of which years only two besides are known to numismatists) that of 208 was coined at Demeshk, of

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209, and of 210, at Arran. The coins of Mahmoun's immediate successor, are all very scarce; here there are 28 of them. Of the Caliph Mutassembillah, only 7 are known to be in existence, 2 in the Academy of Science, at St. Petersburgh, and 5 in this collection. Of Mulewekkel-al-Allah, there are here 8 coins; at St. Petersburgh only 2. Of Mustaim only 4 coins were heretofore known (248, 249, and 250) one of them of Tiflis (248) was in the cabinet of M. Pflug; and it is now, with 5 others, in the possession of M. de Sprewitz. Of Mused-billah, only 4 were known; in this collection, there are as many. Of Muhtedi, of which there is only one specimen at St. Petersburgh, and no other known, there is here one. Of the two coins of Mutemed, one is to be found here, of the year 256, formerly in the possession of M. Pflug. There is also a coin of the year 333, on which the name of the coining place is not very distinct. This piece is very remarkable, it bears the name of the Caliph, El-Mostakfi-billah, and of the famous Emir-al-Omrah, Turun or Tuzun. These are the most interesting among the coins of the Caliphs; and the number is greater than that of any other collection of which we have any knowledge. At St. Petersburgh, for instance, we find only 9 coins of the Omayades, and 58 of the Abbassides; at Kajan 9 of the Omayades, and 49 of the Abbassides; at Gotha 12 of the former, and 74 of the latter; at Milan 13 Omayades, and 44 Abbassides. Marsden mentions 15 of the Omayades, and 52 of the Abbassides. The present collection is enriched with 16 of the Omayades, and 270 of the Abbassides. The following classes contain many remarkable species. The coins of the Ispebedis have obtained an interest from M. Frähn's discovery, that they were coined by the native prince of Tabarestan, towards the end of the eighth century, being formerly ascribed to the Saffanides, and afterwards supposed to be the first coins of the Caliphs. The coins of the Tahrides are particularly numerous, and some very rare, while at St. Petersburgh there are but 11, at Kasan 4, and in the other collections mentioned above, there are none: those which are particularly deserving of notice are, one of the year 220, of which only 2 are known; one of the year 221, the only one known; one of 226, of which year but one is known; and one of 233, the only one known. The coins of the Wolga-Bulgharians, are extremely rare; one of the year 338, belonging to this collection, has been described by M. Frähn in his dissertation, where he calls it, not undeservedly, "an ornament of the new collection of M. de Sprewitz:" another coin is of the year 366. Of the rare coins of the Buwihredes, M. Frähn has described that of the year 337, (Schiraz) which is now in this collection, as "Nummum rarissimum."

These observations may be sufficient to call the attention of

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numismatists to a collection which, in its kind, surpasses any known private one, and can be put in comparison with any public one.

These few descriptive remarks may suffice to invite the attention both of private individuals, and of the directors of public cabinets, to a collection of oriental coins far surpassing that of any amateur, and scarcely inferior, in value and extent, to the Oriental series of any national institution.

Dr. Grote, of Hanover, is charged with the negociation; and the editor of the Numismatic Chronicle will undertake the transmission of any communication on the subject.

New Edition of Ruding's Annals of the Coinage.—Thirteen numbers of the new edition of this valuable and important work have already appeared. Besides several new plates, it contains much additional letter-press, comprising an account of the vast deposit of coins in the river Dove at Tutbury, and the Beaworth hoard of the pennies of William the Conqueror. The typography of this edition is remarkable for its neatness and beauty, and the whole work, when completed, will be a valuable addition to the English Historical Library, since it is not to the numismatist alone that it will prove useful. The history of the coinage of any nation must be important, and cannot fail to throw much light on manners and customs, to which the ordinary chronicler but seldom alludes. "Ruding" is rich in such information; and those who would make themselves acquainted with some of the most interesting events in English history, will do well to subscribe to the "Annals of the Coinage," even though not possessed of a taste for numismatic studies.

Numismatic Books.—The prices realised at the sale of the late Mr. Young's stock of Numismatic Books, afford good evidence that the taste for numismatic pursuits is gaining ground in this country. All the books sold well, and some of them brought prices so high, as to make it evident that the purchasers, in their eagerness to form a numismatic library, paid but little attention to the intrinsic merit of the works.

Discovery of Treasure.—A countryman, while raising stones, some days ago, on a farm in the barony of Knockninny, in this county, was fortunate enough to find, under a heavy flag, an earthen vessel containing a large number of gold coins of various kinds, some of them of great antiquity, and all in perfect preservation. Among them we observed guineas of the reign of William III., George I., and George II., with half guineas of those reigns, some large Portuguese, and small Roman

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coins, all bright, and of the purest gold. There was an aperture under the stone, large enough to admit a hand to reach the treasure. — *Erne Packet.*

Coin Sale at Munich.—On the 23rd of July last, the duplicate coins of the Royal Collection were sold at Munich. The sale catalogue is entitled—*Verzeichniss, von Münzen und Medaillen besonders bayerischer, pfalzischer und geistlicher Fürsten München Lindau.* 1838. 12mo., pp. 216, with a genealogical table.

History of the French Cabinet.—The Chevalier du Mersan has published a small volume in octavo, entitled—"*Histoire du Cabinet des Médailles, Antiques, et Pierres gravées,*" &c. Paris 1838. Besides an interesting account of the formation and increase of this splendid national museum, the volume contains a descriptive catalogue, illustrated by notes, of every remarkable object of ancient and modern art, with biographical notices of those *savans* whose labours and writings have contributed to the enlargement, or the illustration, of the numerous monuments of antiquity contained in the Bibliothèque Royale. We shall recur to this very interesting work in a future number.

The "*Numismatische Zeitung,*" edited by M. Leitzmann, now in its fifth year, is published in 4to. every fifteen days, at Weissengie in Thuringia. It is devoted exclusively to the coins of the middle ages. We regret to find that the publication of the "*Blätter für Münzkunde*" has been suspended.

The "*Revue Numismatique,*" continues to flourish under the superintendence of its able editors, M. M. de la Saussaye, and Cartier. We have marked several articles for especial notice, but must reserve our remarks for some future number.

English Coronation Medals.—Mr. William Till, whose work on "the Roman Denarius, and English Silver Penny," we had occasion to notice a few months ago, is again in the field. Encouraged by the notices of his former work, "more than fifty reviews from the country, as well as the metropolis, all favourable," he now presents them with another duodecimo under the following title—"Descriptive Particulars of English Coronation Medals, from the Inauguration of King Edward VI., to our present sovereign, Queen Victoria," &c. Mr. Till is as discursive as usual. He discourses of Dr. Johnson, and Green, the balloonman; of the Anglesea pennies, and Count Bergami; of Admiral Blake, and Robert Cocking; of the Lion's Head, at Venice, and Tom's Coffee House in London: in fact, of every thing animate

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and inanimate, which can by any possibility be brought within the sphere of the subject of which he treats.

THE IRISH COINAGE.—Mr. John Lindsay of Cork, barrister at law, is engaged on a history of the coinage of Ireland. He is well known to our readers by various numismatic papers; and we have confident hopes, that this history of the coinage of the sister country will contain much that is new and interesting. Mr. Lindsay's numismatic knowledge and zeal are attested by what he has already achieved, and we look with impatience for his forthcoming volume.

DISCOVERY OF ANGLO-SAXON COINS IN NORWAY.—In the month of February 1836, there were discovered near Egersund, a large quantity of coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Besides several of Otho and the Dukes of Bavaria, of the name of Henry, there was a considerable number of the pennies of our Anglo-Saxon Princes; namely, Eadgar, Edward II., Ethelred, and Canute; and these are said to contain the names of 60 moneyers unknown to Ruding. This treasure is supposed to have been buried between the year 1028 and 1030, when Canute invaded Norway, and marched against Olaüs, the king of that country. The whole of the coins were purchased for the museum of Christiana, and have been arranged and classed by the Curator M. Holmboe, in a work published in that city in 1836. We have not seen this work, but it is highly commended by our excellent colleague M. Cartier, in the second number of the "*Revue Numismatique*" (Mars et Avril 1838).

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The Society met for the Session, on THURSDAY THE 22nd of NOVEMBER.

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Numerous presents of Numismatic works, as well as of coins and medals, were announced, among which was a box of coins collected in Alexandria, by Lord Prudhoe.

The papers read were—

I.

Ring Money of the Ancients. } A letter from Dr. Grotefend of Hannover, on the Ring Money of the Ancients, &c. &c.

II.

Memorial of Blondeau. } A letter from Mr. W. R. Hamilton, President of the Royal Society of Literature, introducing a memorial of Blondeau on the state of the English Mint in the seventeenth century.

III.

Roman Coin Moulds. } Translations of two papers in the "*Revue de la Numismatique Françoise*," on the Roman Coin Moulds found in France.

All these papers appear in the present number of the Numismatic Chronicle.

Mr. Baron Bolland, was duly elected a Member of the Society;

Which then adjourned to December 27, 1838.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

We are under obligations to many foreign correspondents, who have kindly forwarded to us letters and notices. We beg, however, to remind them that *the charge for postage for a pamphlet of some dozen pages, amounts to nearly as many shillings sterling!* Owing to this we have been reluctantly compelled to refuse several pamphlets, which have been sent through the post.

Our friends at Sandwich, Liverpool, Northampton, York, Birmingham, Dover, and Norwich, will receive our acknowledgments for their various kind attentions.

We have long been in expectation of hearing from M. Thomsen, to whom we forwarded on the 25th of November a letter and pacquet.

C. S. will do well to procure the "*Essai de Classification des Suites Monetaires Byzantine*" of Mr. F. de Saulcy, which will greatly assist him in the arrangement of his cabinet. Du Cange and Banduri are useful, but much new light has been thrown on the coins of the Byzantine series since the time of these writers. The plates in illustration of M. de Saulcy's work are most accurate and valuable to the collector and student.

We are sorry that, in replying to our correspondent E. H. in our last number, we omitted to state that the paragraph on the coronation medal, written by J. W. B., was inaccurately printed. For "which really is an agreeable and happy manner—the feeling" &c., read "which recalls in an agreeable and happy manner the feeling," &c.

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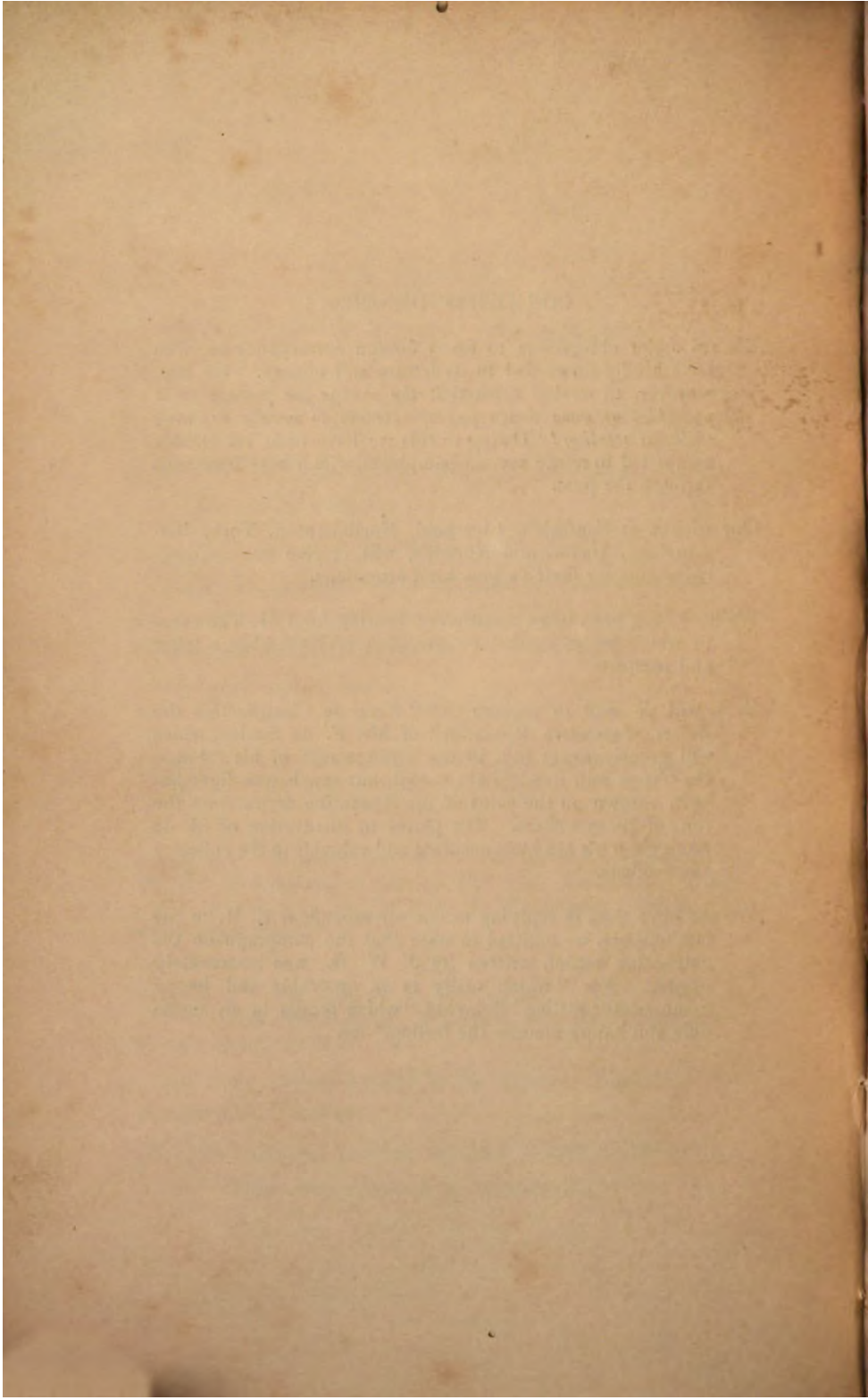

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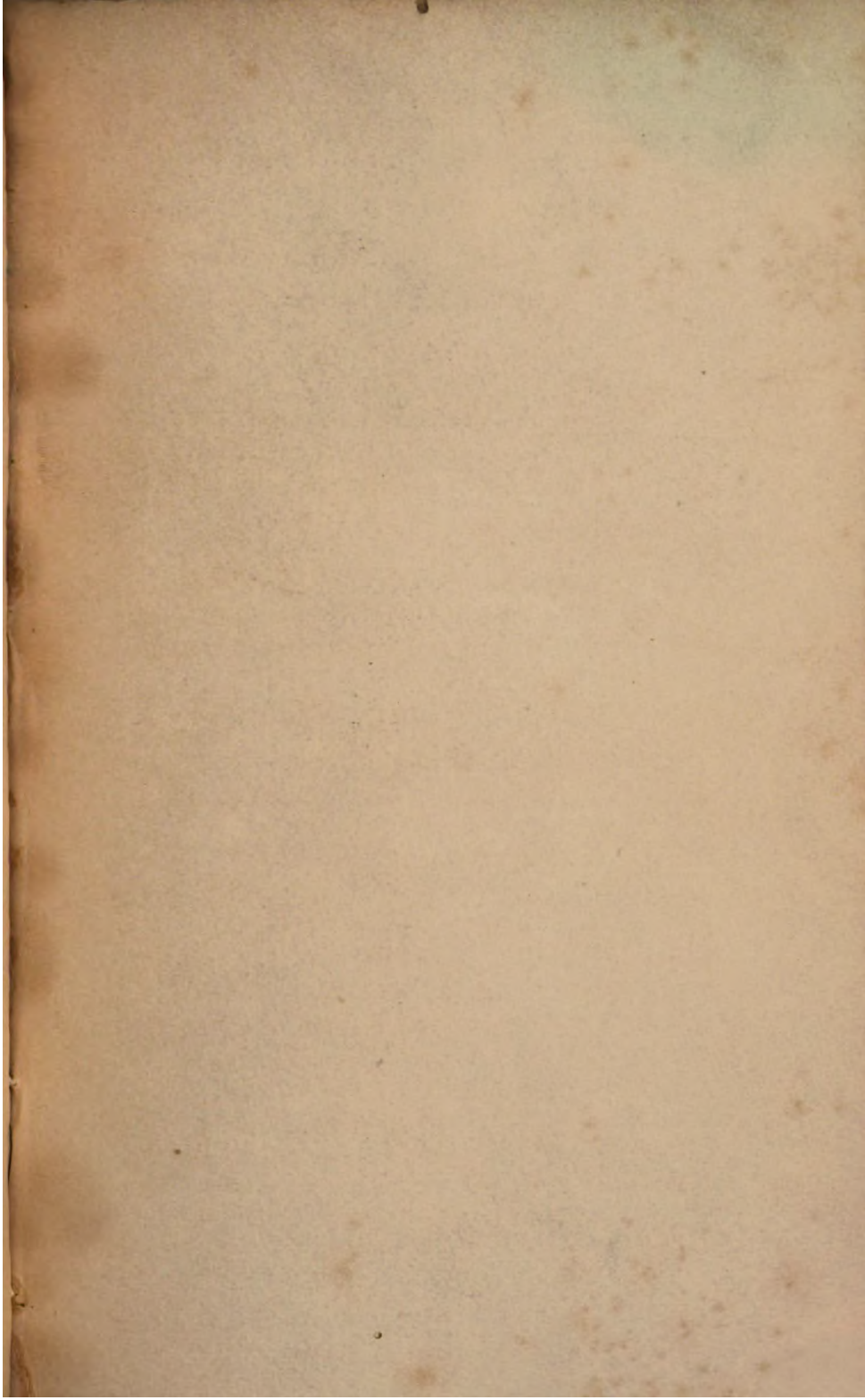

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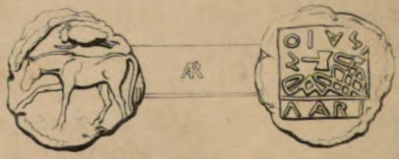

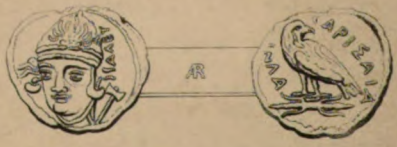

Engraved by Henry A. Ogg

COINS OF LARISSA IN THESSALIA.

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XXIII.

ON THE DATE OF CLEOPATRA'S ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE ΘΕΑ · ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ.

SIR,

THE coin of Antony and Cleopatra, so ingeniously described in your last number, possesses the greater interest, because, as Mr. Burgon observes, "*it supplies us with a date*, and helps us to ascertain on what occasion the title of *the younger goddess*, or *the new Isis*, WAS PROBABLY GIVEN to Cleopatra." I will venture to assert, that the coin supplies us with the date when the title in question WAS CERTAINLY ASSUMED by the daughter and wife of the Ptolemies. I rest my opinion upon the quotation from Plutarch, giving to the second clause a translation somewhat different from Mr. Burgon's; and that for reasons which I respectfully submit to your consideration.

The following is the quotation from Plutarch: Στολὴν ἱερὰν Ἴσιδος ἐλάμβανε, καὶ νέα Ἶσις ἐχρηματιζε. Plutarch, Vit. Ant. § 54. Cleopatra "wore the sacred robe of Isis, and gave answers to the people as the new [or young] Isis." *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. I. p. 200. The latter clause, καὶ νέα Ἶσις ἐχρηματιζε,—which I should translate, *and called herself the new Isis*,—in order to bear Mr. Burgon's rendering, should be, ὥστε καὶ νέα Ἶσις ἐχρημάτιζε, thus agreeing with a similar phrase in Strabo, ὥστε καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐχρημάτισε. To this I would add, that in Plutarch's time the verb χρηματίζω was almost invariably used in the sense of *appello*, *voco*, *nomino*; or in the sense of *nomen accipio*, *nuncupor*, *appellor*, corresponding with the Greek terms, ὀνομάζομαι, καλοῦμαι, &c. Quotations might be adduced from the earlier historian, Polybius, in confirmation of this

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interpretation; as, for instance, Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. § 93, τούτῳ διαφέρων ἐκείνου τῷ μὴ διάδημα περιτίθεσθαι μηδὲ χρηματίζειν βασιλεὺς, *differing from him in this respect, in not assuming the diadem, or calling himself king.* See, also, Polyb. Hist. 5, § 57.

We find the same word thus used in the New Testament, Acts xi. 26, ἐγένετο—χρηματίσαι πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανοὺς; *and it came to pass that the disciples* WERE CALLED CHRISTIANS *first in Antioch;* and again, Rom. vii. 3, μοιχαλὶς χρηματίσει, *adultera nuncupabitur.* In each of these examples, the verb, as in the quotation from Plutarch, is in the active voice.

With such usage before us, you will at once perceive, that we run but little risk of error in asserting, on the authority of Plutarch, that Cleopatra *did call herself,* or *was called,* νέα Ἶσις; and that the date of this assumption, of what was looked upon as more than mortal honour, is supplied by the coin in question.

I am, Sir, your's faithfully,

J. B. READE.

XXIV.

IRON MONEY OF KORDOFAN.

[Read before the Numismatic Society 24th January, 1839.]

SIR,

IN the course of my travels in the interior of Africa, I visited Kordofan, the capital of which province is Lobeyet, or El Obeyed, where I was not a little surprised to find that the most common money in circulation amongst

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the peasantry, was a piece of iron, not unlike the section of a mushroom. This money is called Hasshahshah.

To account for the introduction of this coin, it is necessary to mention a few circumstances connected with the country.

Kordofan is situated in 10° 11′ north latitude, and 29° 2′ east longitude; it was tributary to Darfoor, until taken, fifteen years ago, by the Deftardar Bey, who was despatched by Mahomed Ali Pacha at the head of an expedition. At that time Lobeyet did not contain more than 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants; when I visited it in the spring of 1837, its population was about 40,000. Whilst tributary to Darfoor, all transactions were conducted by barter; and a grain, called Duku (from which the people make their bread) was the staple commodity of exchange. After Mahomed Ali's government was established, the Egyptian and other coins were introduced; but, as all articles of consumption in the bazaar were so remarkably cheap, the inhabitants found that they had not sufficient small change for the purposes of business; and, as a rich iron ore exists near the surface, and in great quantity, at Wad Dessacki and its neighbourhood, a village about fifty miles east of Lobeyet, the peasants resorted there, and made the iron money to which they have given the name of Hasshahshah. The value of each of these pieces of money is one para, forty being equal to one Egyptian piastre, which, according to the present rate of exchange, is equal to 2½*d.* sterling. They are made without any reference to weight; one, which I possess, weighs 121 grains, whilst another weighs 428 grains, though both are of the same value. They have a type to which they more or less approach.

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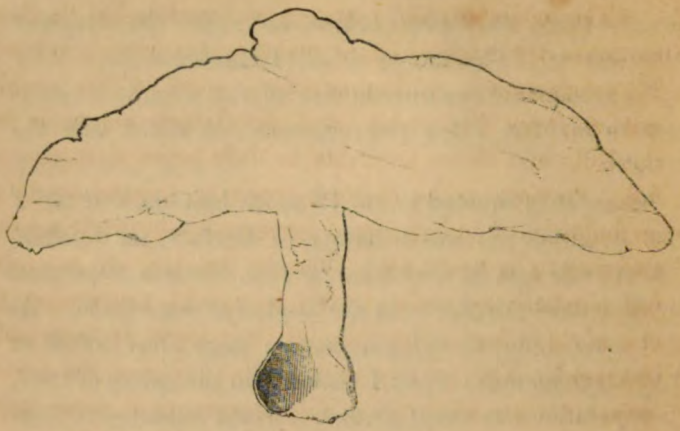

HASSHAHSHAH OF KORDOFAN.

I am not aware of iron money having been found in any other part of the interior of Africa, except at Loggun, mentioned by Denham and Clapperton, from whose travels I subjoin the following particulars :—

"Loggun, the capital of which country (Kernuk) is on the banks of the Shary, and in 11° 7′ north latitude, is a very populous country. Kernuk has 15,000 inhabitants at least; they speak a language nearly Begharmi. The Shouass are all around them, and to them they are indebted for the plentiful supply of bullocks, milk, and fat, with which the market abounds: these necessaries are paid for by tobes, and blue cotton in stripes, which the Loggun people make and dye of a very beautiful colour. They have, also, a metal currency in Loggun, the first I had seen in Negroland; it consists of thin plates of iron, something in the shape of a tip with which they shoe race-horses; these are made into parcels of ten and twelve, according to the weight, and thirty of these parcels are equal in value to ten rottola, or a dollar.

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"The money market, however, of Loggun, has its fluctuations; the value of its 'circulating medium' is settled, by proclamation, at the commencement of the weekly market, every Wednesday; and speculations are made by the Bulls and Bears, according to their belief of its rise or fall. Previous to the Sultan's receiving tribute, or duty, on bullocks or indigo, the delatoo generally proclaims the currency to be below par; while, on the contrary, when he has purchases to make for his household, preparatory to one of their feasts, the value of their metal is invariably increased. The proclamation of the value of the metal always excites an amazing disturbance, as if some were losers, and some gainers, by the variation." [1]

I enclose some specimens of the Hasshahshah for the Museum of the Society, and remain,

Your obedient servant,

ARTHUR T. HOLROYD.

Athenæum Club,
Pall Mall, January 5, 1839.

To the President of the Numismatic Society.

XXV.

COIN OF TITIOPOLIS IN ISAURIA.

ALTHOUGH the numismatics of the nations of the ancient world have not yet been sufficiently studied and comprehended, inasmuch as we have barely (if, indeed, we have) determined the signification of the figures of a few coins;

[1] "Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Years 1822, 1823, and 1824, by Major Denham, Captain Clapperton, and the late Dr. Oudney," 4to. p. 237.

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and that, if we except the coins which bear the names of kings or emperors, hardly any monuments of this class, so interesting for history, can be assigned to a positive epoch; yet we are, comparatively, far advanced with regard to the geographical nomenclature.

The immense quantity of pieces comprehended under the general title of Greek coins, that has been published or arranged in cabinets, shows so considerable a series of names of towns and nations, that we cannot entertain the hope of seeing the list greatly augmented hereafter.

The appearance of a coin bearing the name of a town, quite new in numismatics, and almost unknown in history, is, therefore, a fact, the importance of which cannot but be highly appreciated. To publish it is, in the eyes of a numismatist, a real pleasure. I have, therefore, first to thank Monsieur Menche, of Aire, for having kindly confided to me the precious imperial Greek coin which is the subject of this notice, and which chance threw into his possession.

The description is as follows:—

ΚΑΙCΑΡ·ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC. A barbarously executed head of the Emperor Hadrian, to the right.

Rev.—ΤΙΤΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. (Of the inhabitants of Titiopolis). Jupiter sitting, to the left, holding in his right hand a patera, his left supporting the hasta.

The reading of the legend is beyond all doubt; what renders its interpretation difficult is, that in most geographical dictionaries the name Titiopolis is not to be found. However, the Dictionary of Ferrari, published by Baudrand, makes mention of this town, and adds these words: *hodie haud memoratur* (at the present day not on record).

It is to this state of oblivion that we must undoubtedly attribute the omission of the name of this town by Messrs. Bishoff and Müller in their very complete Dictionary.

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I shall here state all the information I have been able to collect respecting the town of Titiopolis: the many and tedious inquiries in which I have engaged on this occasion, give me reason to think that, for the present, nothing important can be added thereto.

1.—In the list of prelates who assisted at the Council of Constantinople, held in 381, we find the name of Artemius, Bishop of Titiopolis, of the province of Isauria.

2.—The canons of the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, bear the subscription of Mompretus, Bishop of Titiopolis, of the second Cilicia.

3.—The notice of Hierocles, composed in the seventh century, gives the name of Τιτιοπολις among those of the twenty-three towns which had Seleucia for their metropolis.

4.—In 406, at the Council of Constantinople, *in trullo palatii imperatorii*, a bishop of Titiopolis assisted, whose signature is in these terms: Δομετιος ελαχιστος επισκοπος Τιτουπολεως της Ισαυρων επαρχιας ὁρισας υπεγραψα.

5.—Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his work entitled Περι θεματων, thus writes in relation to the province of Seleucia: "Seleucia is a part of Isauria, which is bounded on the west by Mount Taurus, which the Isaurians inhabit; on the east by the mountains of Cilicia. . . . . The heights of Seleucia, and the lands of the interior, are called Decapolis (i. e. Ten Towns). The first among these towns is Germanicopolis, the second Titiopolis, the third Domitiopolis, &c." The Emperor Constantine wrote towards the middle of the tenth century.

6.—Towards the end of the twelfth, the historian of the crusades, William of Tyre, again mentions the town of Titiopolis among the twenty-four suffragan bishoprics of Seleucia. This is the last trace we have of the existence of this town. Whether after this it was destroyed, as were

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so many others of Asia Minor, or whether it changed its ancient name for a Turkish or Arabian one, is one of those difficult questions in comparative geography, which very special studies might perhaps solve; but I ought to remark, that the most minute investigations have not afforded me any light upon this subject.

The coin of M. Menche, struck under the reign of Hadrian, that is, between the years 117 and 138, A. D., and about 250 years previous to the Council of Constantinople, at which the Bishop Artemius assisted, proves that under the High Empire, the town of Titiopolis was of some importance; and yet, till the time of William of Tyre, ten centuries elapsed without any historian transmitting the least detail regarding the history or exact position of this town.

As to the origin of its name, I will just remark, without attaching more importance to the observation than such remarks deserve, that, whichever orthography is preferred, Titiopolis, or Titopolis, interpretations of them may be given, which, while equally admissible, are equally liable to the same objection, a total want of proof.

Thus the name Titopolis, compared with that of Domitiopolis, might give reason to believe that the two places were founded by the sons of Vespasian, or, at least, that the names were changed in honour of those princes by two towns belonging to the same province, and actuated by the same interests. Whereas, if we adopt the form Titiopolis, we might seek in it a religious origin, examples of which are before us in Tios of Paphlagonia and Diospolis. Δημοσθενης δ' εν Βιθυνιακοις φησι, κτιστην της πολεως γενεσθη Παταρον ἑλοντα Παφλαγονιαν, ἀ̓ ἐκ τ̔ τιμ̓ν τον Δια, Τιον προσαγορευσαι.....Demosthenes, in his Bythinian (histories), says, that the founder of the city was Pataros, when he took

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Paphlagonia; and that, from the worship of Jupiter, it had received the name of Tios. The figure of Jupiter seen on the coin I have now described, would tend to support this supposition, which would be further confirmed by the constant presence of the attributes of Jupiter on the coins of Seleucia, the *types* being certain indications of a worship of Jupiter prevailing in the metropolis of Titiopolis.

AD. DE LONGPERIER.

[From the *Revue Numismatique*, No. 6, Read before the Numismatic Society, February 2, 1839.]

XXVI.

ON TWO SMALL BRASS COINS OF THE SECOND CONSTANTIUS, WITH THE LETTERS "PLON" IN THE EXERGUE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, February 28, 1839.]

DEAR SIR,

I AM enabled to lay before you and the Numismatic Society two small brass coins of the second Constantius, which I trust will not be deemed wholly unworthy of consideration.

They belong to a class of Roman coins restricted, I believe, to the Constantine family, bearing, in the exergue, the letters PLON; generally, and with good reason, looked upon, as the insignia of the Metropolitan Officina of Britain.

No. 1, *Obv.*—FL · IVL · CONSTANTIVS · NOB · C. The laureated head of the young Cæsar to the left: front bust with an embroidered paludamentum over the tunic.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIAE · CAESS. The gate of a camp, surmounted by a star. In the exergue, P · PLON.

No. 2, *Obv.*—FLA · CONSTANTIVS · NOB · C. Laureated head and bust, with paludamentum over the tunic, to the right.

Rev.—As the former, with PLON.

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The rarity of these coins, as regards the exergual marks, will be obvious on my observing, that in your illustrated essay "On the Coins of the Romans relating to Britain," no specimen of the second Constantius is described or referred to: and in Banduri's extensive list of this Emperor's coins, will be found a vast number of the well-known continental mintages; but only a single instance is given, on which the letters PLON occur; which isolated exception, I presume, from your silence, was considered of such questionable authenticity, as not to warrant its insertion in a work compiled from materials confirmed and sanctioned in their genuineness by personal observation.

The existence of these hitherto unnoticed coins of Constantius being proved, we have good grounds for inferring, that a search into the more extensive cabinets of British numismatics, would be rewarded by a discovery of others of the same æra, as yet overlooked or unpublished.

The Emperor Julian[1] informs us, that when Constantius was appointed by his father, the Emperor Constantine, Governor of Gaul, he had scarcely emerged from boyhood: and his portrait on these two coins, which we may safely say were struck during his tenure of that office, is that of a youth of about fourteen. *Providentiæ Cæsarum* is an adulatory legend of common occurrence on the military coins of this family: but in this instance it may not be inappropriate; for Julian adds, that the youthful Cæsar was, in prudence and foresight, unsurpassed by the most experienced of his age.

Your's, &c.

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

Lothbury, Feb. 26th, 1839.]

[1] Oration I.

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XXVII.

MEDALS OF THE PRETENDER.

Sir,

If the following description of a series of Medals, complimentary and satirical, struck on the birth of the Pretender in the year 1688, and the few remarks offered, be thought of sufficient interest for the *Numismatic Chronicle*, I should feel pleasure in furnishing another series, with few exceptions, from my own collection.

Your's, &c.

W. D. Haggard.

Lee Grove, Feb. 5th, 1839.

No. 1.—The young Prince, under the figure of Hercules, who destroys the serpents while in his cradle. By the serpents is understood the hopes of the Protestants. It has round the medal this inscription: MONSTRIS · DANT FUNERA · CUNÆ. "His cradle is the Tomb of Monsters." Exergue, a small crown over two serpents entwined.

Rev.—The Prince of Wales's feathers in a royal crown, with this inscription round it: FULTA · TRIBUS · METVENDA · CORONA. Exergue, 1688. "A crown that has three supporters is formidable."

No. 2.—In the centre is the royal arms surmounted by the royal crown, the whole supported by four cherubs; the upper one, on the left, holds the arms of the Prince of Wales; that on the right, the Prince's feathers, with this inscription round the medal: HONORI · PRIN · MAG · BRIT FRA · ET · HIB · NAT · IO · IVN · 1688. "In honour of the Prince of Great Britain."

Rev.—A naked infant on a cushion—ships in the distance; above are two winged angels with trumpets of fame; the one on the left holds the crown, the other a palm branch; between them is a scroll supported with the word VENIAT. "Let him come."

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No. 3.—Busts, to the right, of James II. and his Queen, with this inscription round: IACOBVS · II · M · BRIT · REX MARIA · M · BRIT · REG. "James II., King of Great Britain: Mary, Queen of Great Britain."

Rev.—A map of England, Scotland, and Ireland; on the right is the sun rising in splendour, which dispels the clouds, and enlightens the kingdoms. Two-thirds round the medal is this inscription: ILLAS · FVGAT · RECREAT ISTAS. "He scatters the former and rejoices the latter." In the exergue, OB · NATVM · WALLIÆ · PRINCIPEM · GAB · SILVIVS · EQ · AVR · AD SERDANIÆ · ET · NORW · REG · ABL · EXT · C · C MDCLXXXVIII. "Gabriel Silvius, Knight, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Sweden and Norway, has had this medal struck on the birth of the Prince of Wales, 1688."[1]

No. 4.—Bust to the left crowned with laurel, with flowing hair, and slight drapery: under the bust, a full-blown rose; round it, this inscription: IACOBVS · II · D · G BRITANNIARUM · IMPERATOR. "James II., by the grace of God, Sovereign of Great Britain."

Rev.—The Queen sitting in a state bed, holding in her arms the young Prince, with this inscription: FELICITAS PUBLICA. "Public felicity;" and in the exergue, OB FELICISS · M · BRIT · PRINC · NATIV · 20 · IVN 1688 · IG · VITUS · EQ · B · G · MARC · D ALBYVILLE · ET · SA · ROM · IMP · APUD · BAT ABLEG · EXT · C · C. "Ignatius Vitus, Knight of St. George, Marquis of Albyville and the Holy Roman Empire, Ambassador Extraordinary in Holland, has had this medal struck to celebrate the very happy day of the birth of the Prince of Great Britain, 20th June, 1688."

No. 5.—Bust, to the left, laureate mantle over the shoulders; legend, GIVE THE KING THY JUDGMENTS, O GOD.

Rev.—An angel guarding the infant Prince in a cradle beneath a canopy; legend, AND THY RIGHTEOUSNESS TO THE KING'S SON, PSAL. 27 : 1. Exergue, PRINCE OF WALES, BORN 10 JUNE, 1688. Mr. Hawkes states this medal to be stamped in imitation of engraving, and the workmanship to be very rude.

No. 6.—The figure of Truth, crushing under her foot a serpent.

[1] There is a variety of this medal given in Van Loon.

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She holds open the door of a cabinet, emblem of the secret council of the King of England; within the cabinet is seen the Jesuit Peters, chief of this council, thrusting through the top of it a young child, who holds in one hand a royal crown, and in the other a chalice; a ray of light from a cloud falls upon it: in the distance is seen a fleet of ships, all sailing the same way. Round the medal are these words: SIC · NON · HEREDES · DEERUNT. "In this manner heirs will not fail." On the door of the cabinet is this legend: IAC · FRANC · EDUARD SUPPOSIT · 20 · IVNII · 1688. "James Francis Edward, supposititious, 20th June, 1688."

Rev.—The Trojan horse covered with a cloth, on which are these words: LIBERT · CONS · SINE · IURAM · ET · LEG P. "Liberty of conscience, without oaths and without penal laws." On the girth is the word ASTU. "Cunning." In the distance is seen the city of Troy in flames. Round the medal is the inscription, imitated from Virgil, EQUO · NUNQUAM · TU · CREDE · BRITANNE. "Englishmen never trust to this horse."

No. 7.—A female, who, on opening a basket, brings to view a child having the tail of a serpent: there are two other females in the distance, one with uplifted hands, showing surprise; the other seems to run away from the monster. Round the medal, from Ovid, INFANTEMQUE · VIDENT · APPORRECTUMQUE · DRACONEM. "They there find a child with the feet of a serpent."

Rev.—A drooping rose-tree, near the foot of which there appears a new and vigorous shoot. Half round the upper field of the medal is TAMEN · NASCATUR OPORTET · MDCLXXXVIII. "However it may be, it must be born." Exergue, 1688.

Van Loon remarks upon this medal thus: "The basket is that which Pallas had given in charge to the three daughters of Cecrops; and one of them having the curiosity to open the basket, finds Ericthonius a monster, half child and half serpent, which owed its birth to Vulcan, but which came into the world without a mother. This is a happy allusion; the three daughters of Cecrops are the three kingdoms of Great Britain, Ericthonius, the Prince of Wales: the extraordinary birth of the monster that had

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no mother, alludes to the birth of the Prince, and the barrenness of the Queen. The drooping rose-tree, on the reverse, is emblematical of the extinguished vigour of the King and Queen."

He further remarks, "These two medals (Nos. 6 and 7) were struck to show that the pretended Prince was a supposititious child; which appears very possible, if the following circumstances be true: it was, at least, so generally thought to be so, that the Prince and Princess of Orange ceased to have him prayed for in their chapel. It was certainly very remarkable, that this child was born just two days after the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to law, ought to have been present on the occasion. It was no less remarkable, that the Princess Ann was at the time absent, being advised to change the air; and that when the Queen was confined, no one was admitted into her room but foreigners, Catholics, and people wholly devoted to the Court, who were all interested in passing for legitimate a successor who, in establishing the Roman Catholic religion, would insure their own good fortune, and would at once dash to the ground the hopes of the Protestants, and the succession established in the person of the Princess of Orange."

XXVIII.

ON THE COINS OF THE THESSALIAN LARISSA.

By Samuel Birch, Esq.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 28th March, 1839.]

No. 1.—A horse walking to the left, the head inclined; above, a fly, or bee, with closed wings, to the left.

Ꞧ. ΛΑ...ΛΑΕΟΝ. A sandal; the whole within an indented square. Æ. size 4.

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No. 2.—Same type.

℞· ΛΑΡΙϟΑΙΟΝ. A sandal, as on the preceding, above, a bipennis; the whole within an indented square. Æ. size 4.

No. 3.—ΑΛΕΥ. Full-face heroic head, in a helmet, with cheek-plates; at the left shoulder a bipennis.

℞· ΛΑΡΙϟΑΙΑ · ΛΛΑ. on the right side of an eagle standing on a thunderbolt. Æ. size 4.

The types of some of the coins of the Thessalian Larissa appear to have escaped the notice of most medallic writers; and I am not aware that any of the continental numismatists have illustrated the two types of which I have the honour of offering a solution on the present occasion to the Society.

Larissa, situated on the right bank of the river Peneus, in Thessaly, struck, like most of the large towns of Greece, a series of local currency. From the circumstance of its overhanging position, it was called Kremaste "the suspended," probably rather an epithet than a name, since no trace of it is found on any of its autonomous types. By this term, however, it was distinguished from several other cities of the same name, as the Egyptian Larissa in Æolis, and the Syrian on the banks of the Orontes. The scholiast of *Apollonius Rhodius*, book I. line 40, states, That the Thessalian Larissa was under the government of Akrisios, and that it took its name, on the authority of Hellenikos, from Larissa the daughter of Pelasgus; and that it was in the neighbourhood of Gurton in the Pelasgic division of Thessaly. (See *Apoll. Rhod.* l. 40).

The horse, the common Thessalian emblem, appears on the silver and brass currency, in allusion to the fabled production of the horse in Thessaly, which, on account of the champaign nature of the country, bred an animal of far

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finer blood than the Peloponnesus; a fact which local vanity impressed upon its circulating medium. The honour, indeed, of subduing this animal to the uses of mankind, was attributed to the inhabitants of Lapithæ; and the myth[1] of the centaurs was supposed to have been founded on a similar fact. On the earliest coins, over the horse, is a bee, or fly, with closed wings: its allusion is not known. The reverses of these types have, in a hollow square, a sandal,[2] whose fore and ancle straps are very complicated; and around the square is ΛΑΡΙΖΑΕΟΝ, or ΛΑΡΙΖΑΙΟΝ. M. Sestini[3] and M. Mionnet have described this object as different ornaments in a hollow square; but an inspection readily shows that it is an ordinary *sandal*, such as is often found on the feet of gods or heroes; and a foot of bronze in the Hamilton collection of the British Museum, affording an excellent illustration of it, a copy of it accompanies the present paper.

This sandal seems to refer to the one which Jason lost when crossing the Anauros, according to the argument prefixed to the *Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius.* (Ed. Brunck).

Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀναυρῷ ποταμῷ (ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Θεσσαλίας) καὶ βουλόμενος παρελθεῖν, εὑρίσκει ἐπὶ τῆς ὄχθης τὴν Ἥραν, γραῒ ὁμοιωθεῖσαν διαπεράσαι μὲν βουλομένην, φοβουμένην δὲ, καὶ ἑστῶσαν. Λαβὼν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, διασώζει, κατὰ μέσον τοῦ ποταμοῦ το ἓν πέδιλον καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ· εἶτα ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν μονοπέδιλος καὶ εὑρίσκει πανήγυριν δημοσίαν καὶ θυσιάν ἀγομένην τοῖς θεοῖς παρὰ Πελίου. Θεασάμενος οὖν τὸν Ἰάσονα μονοπέδιλον ὁ Πελίας ὑπομιμνήσκεται τοῦ χρησμοῦ.

"And when he was at the Anaurus, which is a river of

[1] Palæphatus, Lib. De Incredibilibus.
[2] A sandal, or *kothurnos*.
[3] Sestini. Descr. Num. Vet., p. 147, No. 7. Mionnet, Descr. des Med. Grec., tome iii. Supp., p. 160.

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Thessaly, on the point of crossing, he finds upon the bank Juno, under the semblance of an old woman, desirous of fording it, but fearful and standing still. Then Jason, taking her upon his shoulders, passes safe through the river, leaving in the middle one sandal in the mud. He then advances to the city, and finds a public assembly, and a sacrifice offered to the gods by Pelias. When Pelias beholds Jason shod with one sandal only, he remembers the oracle."

A repetition of the same occurs in the first book of the *Argonautics*, lib. i., *v.* 5.

> Τοιὴν γὰρ Πελίης φάτιν ἔκλυεν, ὥς μιν ὀπίσσω
> Μοῖρα μένει στυγερὴ τοῦδ' ἀνέρος ὄντιν' ἴδοιτο
> Δημόθεν οἰοπέδιλον, ὑπ' ἐννεσίησι δαμῆναι.
> Δηρὸν δ' οὐ μετέπειτα δεὴν κατὰ βάξιν Ἰήσων
> Χειμεριοίο ῥέεθρα κιὼν διὰ ποσσὶν Ἀναύρου
> Ἄλλο μὲν ἐξεσάωσεν ὑπ' ἴλυος, ἄλλο δ' ἔνερθε
> Κάλλιπεν αὖθι πέδιλον ἐνισχόμενην προχοῇσιν.

"For Pelias had heard a report of this nature, that the stern fate of being subdued by the counsels of that man whom he should behold shod with one sandal only among the people, should hereafter await him. Not long after, agreeably to the divine declaration, Jason, fording on foot the streams of the winter-swelled Anaurus, saved one of his sandals from the mud, but left the other adhering to the bed of the river."

Mention of the same myth is made by other writers; and the stream is called by Hyginus, the Euhenus. No river of such name appears projected upon the maps. If Jason was going to Larissa, or, rather, Iolchos, the capital of the government, from the upper part of Thessaly, it must have been a tributary of the Peneus. From the term πρόχοῃσιν, which implies the place where a river debouches into the sea, it must have been upon the shore; and it may have been one

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of those small streams which the winter alone swells into the dignity of a river, as is implied by χειμεριοίο. The boldness of poetical metaphor, however, cannot undergo the same criticism as prose; but the omission of the particular city to which he was journeying, is remarkable.

Jason[4] is further stated to have been dressed in a leopard's skin, and clothed in the attire of a Magnesian. A coin, with a horse on the obverse, having above it a foot shod in a sandal, is mentioned by M. Mionnet;[5] but I cannot find this type in the cabinet of the British Museum. If it be rightly described, it must allude to the same circumstance, and indicate the shod foot of the hero. The myth of Jason, indeed, seems to have been especially cherished in Thessaly, of which district he was the hero, as Perseus of Thrace, and Theseus of Attica: consequently the allusions to his history on the fictile Græco-Italian vases, are of rare occurrence, compared with pictures taken from the Homeric traditions or the Giganto machia; a fact rather to be regretted, as the vases would have offered a contemporaneous evidence to the medals. Four vases, found at Vulci, perhaps allude to some of his exploits, but none to the present subject. Gems,[6] indeed, with Jason, are not uncommon, but the Argonautic expedition seems to have been superseded by the Homeric myths; and the monuments on which it is reproduced are those of a later epoch. The coins next in succession, have on one side a youth wearing a *chlaina*, or tunic, and a Macedonian hat, in shape approaching the *pileus* of the Romans, and consisting of a round crown, with the brim turned upwards, which the figures of Hermes, or of the

[4] See Hyginus Fabul. 12. The river is here termed the Ahenus.
[5] Mionnet, Descr. des Med. Grec. 8vo. 1807, tome ii. p. 15.
[6] Millin. Galer. Mythol. 424. Tassie's Gems, 4to., London, 1791, No. 8634-39.

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heroes in their hunting excursions, wear on the vases. It was considered lighter and more convenient than the helmet, and termed the *piléma* (πίλημα), and is mentioned by Sophocles. Œdipus, in the *Kolonoi*, v. 313 ed. Brunck, as the ἡλιοστερὴς κυνῆ Θεσσαλίς; and Callimachus, (Ad. L. iv., v. 972), mentions the ποιμενικὸν πίλημα, or shepherd's hat. It was probably made of leather. The youth holds by the horns a raging bull, whose furious efforts to escape he successfully restrains, as if in the act of preparing to place his neck under the yoke. This has been supposed by Eckhel to indicate the bulls which are said to have laid the country waste during the reign of Ixion, and to have been subdued by the efforts of the Thessalian youths. Perhaps it is probable that the youth and bull may allude to the preparation by Jason of the brazen-hoofed and iron-horned bulls of Colchis for the plough, as mentioned by the poet of the Argonauts.[7]

Καὶ ῥ' ὄγε δεξιτεροῖο βοὸς κέρας ἄκρον ἐρύσσας
Εἵλκεν ἐπικρατέως παντὶ σθένει, ὄφρα πελάσσῃ
Ζεύγλῃ χαλχείῃ, τὸν δ' ἐν χθονὶ κάββαλεν ὀκλὰξ
Ῥίμφα ποδὶ κρούσας πόδα χάλκεον.

"And then having seized the end of the bull's horn with his right hand, he drew him by main force, until he made him approach the brazen yoke, and cast him (the bull) down on the ground upon his knees, nimbly with his own foot beating the brazen hoof."

Since Jason was the great Thessalian hero, this may have been used by the town of Larissa in allusion to the power of subjugating these animals, which was deemed honourable by an agricultural race like the Pelasgi: indeed, we are informed by *Euripides Electra*, v. 815, that

[7] Apoll. Rhod. Argon., same ed., b. iii., l. 1305.

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Ἐκ τῶν καλῶν κομποῦσι τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖς
Εἶναι τόδ' ὅστις ταυρῶν ἀρτέμει καλῶς
Ἵππους δὲ ὀχμάζει.

"He of Thessalia is the most renowned
Who aptest yokes the oxen to the plough,
Or tames the steed."

The attitude[8] of the group is not dissimilar to the idea, nor are the delicate and ingenious applications of mythic subjects from the past to the present, or, from individual to particular instances, unusual in the efforts of Greek art. At all events, a proposed explanation of the contest of Hercules with the Achelous, is totally inadmissible, because, on this subject, the artist has always, on the fictile[9] vases, portrayed the river as a bull with a human face, to distinguish the myth from that of the capture of the Cretan bull, from which it would be otherwise indistinguishable. Neither do any attributes of Hercules appear in the scene; and this hero is rarely depicted as a youth, still less as wearing the Thessalian cap. A figure, similarly attired to the one holding a bull, appears on the obverse of some of the other coins of the city, standing by a steed, and holding in one hand two javelins, as if in the act of parting for the chase. The difficulty of discovering to whom so general a form may allude, compels me again, though reluctantly, to adopt the vague explanation of a hunter; although some local hero is indicated, and the same remark applies to the female heads

[8] Jason is stated in Apoll. Rhod. Argon., b. iii. l. 1322, "to goad the bulls with his spear, as a rustic would do with a Pelasgian goad."

[9] See Millingen (I.) on a vase on this myth. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., vol. ii., p. 95—102. Déscription d'un Collection de Vases Peints et Bronzes Antiques, provenant des fouilles d'Etrurie. Par J. de Witte. 8vo., Paris, 1837, p. 48, No. 47. Descrip. of Vases found at Ceres, by Signor Campanari, Tract.

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found upon the obverse of the later types, one of which, from its dishevelled hair, has been conjectured to represent the head of Medusa, probably from its full face. In archaic work, the Gorgons were monsters with protruding tongues, as the fictile vases certainly show; and subsequent ages invested them with the traits of beauty. At all events, the connection of Medusa with Larissa is not very apparent; and, as the city was supposed to have been called from Larissa,[10] the daughter of Pelasgus, its eponumous protectress may here be indicated, or the nymph[11] Coronis. The heads on the obverse of the other types, with the hair gathered behind, and bound with the opistrophendone, are, with every degree of probability, those of the Pelasgian Hera, or Juno, under whose auspices the expedition took place. The other types represent a female seated, or standing, holding in her hand a hydria, or water vase. In one instance, the nymph draws water from a fountain, whose jet issues from a lion's mouth. A similar female, in various attitudes, appears on the coins of Terina in Bruttii, with the addition of wings and a caduceus, probably representing Iris, or Nike; and, in this case, the female form may be the *Nike*, (Νικη) apteros, or "wingless Victory," so commonly found on the fictile vases. Mr. Millingen has published a coin with a similar figure playing at *sphaira*, or ball, and he supposes it to represent the nymph Larissa; but the Victory is equally applicable. The brass coins generally present a horse, and the obverse the female head, full-face, supposed to be the Medusa. One type has Thetis riding on a marine horse, and bearing the shield and armour of Achilles, another hero of Thessaly and the Pelasgic race. M. Mionnet

[10] See Apoll. Rhod. schol. loco supra cit.

[11] Ovid, Metamorph., ii., l. 542, "Pulchrior in totô, quam Larissæa Coronis."

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assigns this medal, categorically, to the Thessalian Larissa; but the shield is inscribed with the monogram A. The fabrication, however, is different from the usual execution.

The last type, which is in silver, has on the obverse a heroic head, full-face, helmed, and at the side ΑΛΕV, which Mr. Burrel very ingeniously supposes to indicate Aleuas,[12] the primogenitor of the Aleuadæ, a royal family at Larissa, descended from the kings of Thessaly, who first betrayed their country to Xerxes, against the wish of their countrymen. The reverse exhibits an eagle standing upon a thunderbolt. ΛΑΡ · ΙΣΑΙΑ · ΛΑΑ. This coin, which is unpublished in M. Mionnet, belongs to the cabinet of the British Museum.

XXIX.

CAST DIES FOR MEDALS.

[To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.]

Sir,

As your correspondent "Cautus" has done me the honour, in your Number for October, to quote some expressions, as used by me, in reference to Mr. Pistrucci's late invention of a mode of using cast-iron plates, instead of steel dies, for stamping medals and seals; and, as I presume, both from the tone of his paper, and from the title he has assumed, that he is anxious that the public should not be misled or misinformed on the subject, I take the liberty to request your insertion, in the next number of

[12] Diod. lib. xvi. Herodotus vii. Polymnia, c. 6. 130, 172. Pausanias, iii., c. 8, l. 7, c. 10. Ælian Animal, viii. c. 11.

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your Chronicle, of the following brief notice of the mistakes which "Cautus" has committed, and for the correction of which I am sure that he will be obliged.

"Cautus" enumerates seven steps in the process alluded to: these are perfectly correct, with the exception of the two last. No steel die is struck from the iron cast; and the medal, or seal (and as yet the experiment has only been made on the latter), is not struck from a *steel die*, but from the *iron plate*.

When Mr. Pistrucci has cast his thin iron plate, of the proper shape according to the relief of the work, and has dressed the back of the plate, nothing more is requisite, before it is subjected to the stamping-press, than to go over the work very delicately and carefully, for the purpose of removing every vestige of the slight sandy impressions which are left in casting; by which operation, the original surface of the artist's model is laid bare, without its being in the slightest degree impaired or altered: this is the work of a few days, or hours, according to the extent of surface to be cleaned, and the intricacy of the work. "Cautus" has certainly been misinformed, either by his eyes, if he has seen the Lancaster Seal, or by his ears, if he has only heard a description of it—if he really believes that it is the result of *engraving*, and that its exquisite softness, &c. were attained by *engraving*.

I never exhibited the iron cast of the Lancaster Seal, nor the seal ("Cautus" says the die) made from it. What I did frequently show to my friends, was a trial and imperfect cast from the unfinished model, and a trial unfinished impression from that cast in copper. This cast had never been worked over by the graver in any of its parts, though it had been partially cleaned from the sand marks, to see and judge of the effect. But the whole of this passage in

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"Cautus's" remarks is so very confused and contradictory, that it is quite evident, that he must have been very imperfectly acquainted with the subject on which he writes.

It may perhaps be worth mentioning, as tending to prevent mistakes, that the Lancaster Seal, made according to this new process by Mr. Pistrucci, is not the seal which is preserved in the duchy office in London, but that which is kept and used at Preston in Lancashire: and those who had an opportunity of seeing the seal before it left London, were so far from thinking it the *result of engraving*, as "Cautus" alleged, that it was long before they were convinced, by the testimony of many eye-witnesses, that this silver seal, which was stamped from the cast-iron plate, was not itself a cast.

"Cautus," in enlarging on his doubts of the importance and utility of Mr. Pistrucci's process of stamping with cast-iron plates, alludes to his not having adopted this method in executing the late Coronation Medal; but the reason of this is clear:—the experiment having as yet been applied only to the making of a seal, the occasion was not one—on many grounds, not necessary here to enumerate—on which an artist would have been warranted in attempting another. Mr. Pistrucci might indeed have been tempted to make the experiment upon his second medal of the Queen, which is of the size of his original medal; but he felt himself obliged, in justice to his character as an artist, to engrave it in the usual manner, as the best reply in his power to make to the reports circulated by some persons, that he had totally lost his eye-sight from over-fatigue and anxiety, and to the doubts expressed by others respecting the extent of his knowledge and ability in the art of engraving on steel.

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The concluding observation of "Cautus" is perfectly just, "That the attention of our artists ought to be turned most strongly to the subject of casting in iron, because upon it depends entirely the success of the process." Mr. Pistrucci is fully aware, that from want of sufficient practice in a branch of art which he has only learnt accidentally, he is not yet able to imitate the perfection of the best Berlin casting.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

W. R. Hamilton.

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XXX.

Welches Volk hat die ersten Münzen geprägt?

Unter den aus dem Alterthume erhaltenen Münzen hat man nicht ohne Grund die griechischen für die ältesten erkannt, und den Griechen die Erfindung des gemünzten Geldes um so mehr zugeschrieben, da uns viele Zeugnisse alter Schriftsteller melden, daß der argivische Beherrscher des Peloponneses, Phidon, auf der Insel Aegina die ersten Münzen habe prägen lassen. Ja, man hat diese Behauptung sogar durch eine Silbermünze mit einem böotischen Schilde und der Aufschrift ΦΙΔΟ (siehe Rasche's Lexicon unter Phidon) bestätigt finden wollen, welche man ihres zierlichen Gepräges und der schon wegen des Φ einem viel spätern Zeitalter angehörenden Aufschrift ungeachtet, keinen Anstand nahm für eine Phidonische Münze zu halten. So wenig jedoch diese Münze irgend eine Beachtung verdient, so verlieren auch alle die vielen Zeugnisse alter Schriftsteller an innerer Haltbarkeit, wenn man sie mit einer viel ältern Nachricht bei Herodot, i. 94, vergleicht. Mit solcher Zuversicht, als Herodot hier von den Lydiern meldet: „Sie sind unsers Wissens die ersten Menschen, die da goldene und silberne Münzen geprägt und gebraucht haben; auch die ersten Krämer waren sie" — hat keiner dem Phidon, welcher nach Herodot, vi. 127, nur die Maße und Gewichte bei den Peloponnesiern einrichtete, die Erfindung des geprägten Geldes zuzuschreiben gewagt. Während nach Pollux, ix. 6, § 83, schon hundert Jahre vor Herodot, Xeophanes aus Kolophon dasselbe behauptete, was noch Eustathius zu Dionysius Perieg., 840, bemerkt — lesen wir das älteste Zeugniß für Phidons Erfindung des Silbergeldes, in Aegina in der parischen Marmorchronik, und in einem Bruchstücke des Ephorus aus Kumä, bei Strabo, viii. p. 358 (549) und 376 (577); vergleiche: Ephori Cumæi fragmenta

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(TRANSLATION.)

WHAT PEOPLE FIRST STAMPED MONEY?

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 28th February, 1839.]

AMONG the coins received from antiquity, the Greek have, not without reason, been acknowledged as the oldest; and the invention of stamped money has been the more ascribed to the Greeks, as many testimonies of ancient authors inform us, that Phidon the Argive, ruler of the Peloponnesus, caused the first money to be stamped in the island Ægina. Yes; this assertion has even been supposed to be confirmed by a silver coin with a Bœotian shield and the inscription ΦΙΔΟ (see Rasche's Lexicon under *Phidon*), which some persons have no hesitation in taking for a Phidonian coin, notwithstanding the beauty of its impression: and the inscription, which, on account of the letter Φ, clearly belongs to a much later period. Just as little, however, as this coin deserves any regard, so do the many testimonies of ancient authors lose their authority, when they are compared with a much older piece of information in Herodotus (i. 94). No one has dared to ascribe the invention of stamped money to Phidon (who, according to Herodotus (vi. 127), only regulated the weights and measures among the Peloponnesians) with the same confidence as Herodotus here speaks of the Lydians: "They are the first men in our knowledge, who have stamped and used gold and silver coins; and they were the first traders:" whilst, according to Pollux (ix. 6, § 83), Xenophanes of Colophon, asserted the same thing a hundred years before Herodotus; which Eustathius also observes (apud Dionysius Perieg. 840): we read the oldest testimony for Phidon's invention of silver money in Ægina, in the Parian (marble) Chronicle, and in a fragment of Ephorus of Cumæ, in Strabo viii. p. 358 (549), and 776 (57)—(compare Ephori Cumæi,

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v. Marx, p. 107 & 161. Es verliert aber dieses Zeugniß, welchem die meisten neuern Schriftsteller gefolgt sind, bei genauerer Prüfung viel von seinem scheinbarem Widerspruche mit dem um zweihundert Jahre ältern, welches auch in vielen äußern Umständen seine Beglaubigung findet.

Zwar läßt Strabo in der zuletzt angeführten Stelle den Ephorus von den Aegineten fast dasselbe behaupten, was Herodot von den Lydiern sagt; aber es ist daselbst nur von geprägtem Silber die Rede, woran Aegina's Nachbarschaft reich war, wogegen nach Pollux, ix. 6, § 84, vom lydischen Könige Krösus goldene Stateren zu einer Zeit in Umlauf waren, da Griechenland noch arm an Gold war. Denn obgleich Herodot, iv. 152, den Aegineten Sostratus als den reichsten unter allen Hellenen preiset, so leitet er doch der Aegineten Goldreichthum erst von der erhandelten Beute aus der Schlacht bei Platää ab, ix. 80, wogegen schon Gyges, i. 14, so viel Gold und Silber nach Delphi sandte, daß es daselbst einen besondern Schatz bildete, und bei den ältesten griechischen Dichtern, wie Archilochus (Herodot i. 12 und Brunks Analect. T. i. p. 42) und Anakreon, 15, als Beispiel des größten Reichthums galt. Da nun auch die parische Marmorchronik, p. 25, ep. 31, in einer verletzten Stelle, welche Müller in seinen Æginetics, p. 57, not. d, also ergänzt: Φ(εί)δων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐδημ(εύσατο μετρὰ, σταθμὰ) ἐσκεύασε, καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνη ἐποίησεν, nur von Silbergelde spricht, so ging Strabo offenbar zu weit, wenn er in der ersten von ihm angeführten Stelle schrieb: der Argive Phidon habe die sogenannten Phidonischen Maße und Gewichte, und außer anderm geprägten Gelde auch das Silbergeld erfunden. Ja, die ganze Behauptung von Phidons Geldgepräge löset sich in eine einfache Abänderung des Geldgewichtfußes auf, wenn wir bedenken, daß alle die angegebenen

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Fragmenta v. Marx, pp. 107 and 161). This testimony, however, which most of the later authors have followed, loses, upon closer investigation, much of its apparent disagreement with that which is about 200 years older, and which derives great credibility from several external circumstances.

Strabo indeed, in the last cited passage, makes Ephorus, affirm of the Æginetæ, almost the same thing which Herodotus says of the Lydians; but the passage relates only to stamped *silver*, in which the neighbourhood of Ægina was rich; while, on the contrary, according to Pollux (ix. 6. 84), golden staters of the Lydian King Crœsus, were in circulation at a time when Greece was yet poor in gold. For, although Herodotus (iv. 152.) reckons the Æginetan Sostrâtus as the richest among all Hellenes, yet he derives the treasures of the Æginetans in gold, first from the booty obtained at the battle of Platæa (ix. 80); whereas, Gyges (i. 14) had already sent so much gold and silver to Delphi, that it formed an especial treasure there, and is reckoned as an example of the greatest wealth, by the more ancient Greek poets, as Archilochus (Herod. i. 12, and Brunck's Analecta T. p. 42), and Anacreon (15). Now, since also the Parian (marble) chronicle (p. 25, Ep. 31), in a mutilated passage which, Müller, in his Æginetica (p. 57, note d), thus restores, Φ(εί)δων ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἐδημ(εύσατο μετρὰ [measures] σταθμὰ [weights]) ἐσκεύασε, καὶ νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐποίησεν, speaks only of silver money, Strabo evidently went too far, when he, in the passage first cited from him, wrote "The Argive Phidon invented the weights and measures, called Phidonian, and invented, besides the stamped money, silver money also." Yes! the whole assertion of Phidon's coining money resolves itself into a simple alteration of the standard metal, if we consider that all the

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Erfindungen Phidons mit der Unterwerfung des ganzen Peloponneses in Verbindung ſtanden, dem Phidon nur einerlei Maß und Gewicht, mithin auch einerlei Geldgewichtfuß gab, der bekanntlich ſchwerer war als der attiſche. Denn dazu, daß die Griechen ſchon lange vor Phidon Maße und Gewichte kannten, bedürfen wir nicht einmal des Zeugniſſes von Sophokles, welcher deren Erfindung dem Palamedes zuſchrieb, da wir dieſe ſchon in Homers Gedichten finden. Ja, Syncellus, p. 158 (198), und Iſidorus, Origg. xvi. 25, 2, welche eben dieſe Bemerkung machen, reden nur von einer Maß- und Gewichtsbeſtimmung — wie Plinius, H. N. vii. 57, und Africanus bei Euſib., p. 37, — und da der Scholiaſt zu Pindars dreizehntem Olympiſchen Siegesgeſange, v. 17 und 27, (nach welchem der Argive Phidon in Korinth die Maße und Gewichte erfand), den Ausdruck gebraucht: Φείδων ὁ πρῶτος κόψας Κορινθίοις τὸ μέτρον Ἀργεῖος ἦν, ſo ſcheint des Ephorus Ausdruck, ἄργυρον πρῶτον κοπῆναι, nur ſo verſtanden werden zu müſſen wie ihn Salmaſius verſtand — daß Phidon das übliche Stabgeld nur nach ſeiner neuen Gewichtsbeſtimmung bezeichnete, wenn gleich das Etymologicum Magnum unter ὀβελίσκος verſichert, der Argive Phidon habe durch ſeine Münze das frühere Stabgeld abgeſchafft, und der argiviſchen Here geweihet. (Vergleiche Euſtathius zu Illiade, B., p. 604). Wie ſehr das Etymologicum Magnum die alte Sage verdrehe, ſieht man unter Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα, wo der argiviſche König Phidon an einem von der Pflegerin der Here, Euböa benannten Orte von Argos, Goldmünzen geſchlagen haben ſoll.

Mag daher auch das äginetiſche Geld, wovon Aelian, V. H. xii. 10, ſpricht, noch weit über die Perſerkriege hinaufreichen, und mögen auch die Silbermünzen, welche wir noch von Aegina beſitzen, zu den älteſten Griechenlands gehören; die Angabe der pariſchen Marmorchronik, daß Phidon ſchon

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alleged inventions of Phidon were connected with the subjugation of the whole Peloponnesus, to which Phidon gave only uniform weights and measures; and at the same time also a uniform standard for currency, which was clearly heavier than the Attic. For, to prove that the Greeks were acquainted long before Phidon's time, with weights and measures, we do not want so much as the testimony of Sophocles, who ascribed the invention of them to Palamedes; since we find them even in Homer's poems. Yes; Syncellus (p. 158 [198]), and Isidorus (Orig xvi. 25. 2), who make this very remark, speak only of the regulation of weights and measures; and, as the Scholiast on Pindar's 13th Olympic Ode, v. 17 and 27 (according to which the Argive Phidon invented weights and measures at Corinth), uses the expression Φείδων ὁ πρῶτος κόψας Κορινθίοις τὸ μέτρον Ἀργεῖος ἦν, so does the expression of Ephorus ἄργυρον πρῶτον κοπῆναι seem to require to be understood as Salmasius understood it,—that Phidon only pointed out the currency to be used according to his new regulation of weights; although at the same time the Etymologicum Magnum under ὀβελίσκος, asserts "the Argive Phidon, by his coins, abolished the older currency, and dedicated it to the Argive Hexe" (compare Eustathius upon Iliad B. p. 604).—How much the Etymolog. Mag. perverts the ancient traditions, may be seen under Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα where the Argive King Phidon is said to have struck gold coin, at a place of Argos, named Eubœa from the nurse of Hera. It may be then that the Æginetan money, of which Ætian (Varia Historia, xii. 10.) speaks, extends far above the Persian war, and that the silver coins also *of Ægina, which we possess*, belong to the oldest times of Greece. The allegation of the Parian (marble) chronicle that Phidon, so early as the year 895 before Christ, caused the

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im Jahre 895 vor Christi Geburt die ersten Silbermünzen in Aegina habe prägen lassen, beruht schon deßhalb auf keinem sichern historischen Grunde, weil man diesen Phidon in so verschiedene Zeiten und an so verschiedene Orte versetzt, daß sich manche versucht fühlten, zwei oder gar vier verschiedene Könige gleiches Namens anzunehmen. Gesetzt aber auch, daß Herodot sich irrte, wenn er, vi. 127, den um die 52ste Olympiade lebenden Leokedes, Phidons Sohn nennt, und daß man nach dem wiederholten Namen Φείδωνος ἀπογόνου ergänzen müsse, um Herodot mit Pausanias in Einklang zu bringen, der, vi. 22, 2, Phidon in die achte Olympiade setzt; immer weicht die mehr mit Pausanias zusammenstimmende Angabe des Ephorus bei Strabo, viii, p. 358 (549), der zufolge Phidon der zehnte Nachkomme des Temenus oder dreizehnte des Herakles war, von der Angabe des Satyrus bei Eusebius, welche, der Marmorchronik näher kommend, Phidon den eilften Nachkommen des Herakles nennt, um ein ganzes Jahrhundert ab. Wenn Ephorus von Phidons Erfindungen nicht sowohl in seiner Geschichte, als in dem Werke über die Erfindungen (siehe Strabo, xiii. p. 622 [924]) schrieb, wo, wie in des Plinius Naturgeschichte, nicht alles chronologisch geordnet war; so erklären sich jene verschiedenen Zeitbestimmungen eben so leicht als des Ephorus Irrthum. Wie sollten aber, wenn Phidon wirklich die ersten Münzen prägte, diese dem Herodot unbekannt geblieben seyn, welcher fast ganz Griechenland forschend durchreisete, und daher auch Phidons Maß- und Gewichtsbestimmungen kennen lernte? Wenn ferner die ersten griechischen Münzen, wie Stieglitz nicht ohne Grund vermuthet hat, eine bloße Nachahmung der ägyptischen Scarabäengemmen in Metall waren; so reicht deren Erfindung nicht wohl über Psammetich hinauf, der nach Herodot, ii. 152, ff. zuerst Freundschaft mit den Joniern und Kariern schloß, und ihnen Ländereien an beiden Ufern des Nils gab. Denn S. Quintino's Ansicht, daß die kleinern Scarabäen mit Königsnamen

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first silver money to be stamped in Ægina, rests upon no more certain historical foundation; because this Phidon is referred to so many different times, and in so many different places, that many have felt themselves obliged to assume two, or even four different kings bearing the same name. But, suppose even that Herodotus were wrong, where he (vi. 127) calls Leokedes, who lived about the 52nd Olympiad, Phidon's son, and that we must supply after the name Φείδωνος, ἀπογόνου, in order to reconcile Herodotus with Pausanias, who (vi. 22. 2) places Phidon in the 8th Olympiad; still, the allegation of Ephorus, in Strabo viii. p. 358 (543), (which agrees better with Pausanias, and according to which Phidon was the 10th descendant of Temenus, or the 13th of Heracles), differs by a whole century from the allegation of Satyrus in Eusebius, who, coming nearer to the Parian chronicle, calls Phidon the 11th descendant of Heracles. If Ephorus did not write about Phidon's inventions, as well in his history as in the work upon inventions, where, as in Pliny's Natural History, every thing was not arranged chronologically, then these different dates are easily explained as an error of Ephorus. If however, Phidon really stamped the first money, how could this have remained unknown to Herodotus who travelled through almost the whole of Greece, making enquiries, and so became acquainted with Phidon's regulations respecting weights and measures? If further, the first Greek coins, as Stieglitz has not without reason supposed, were simply an imitation in metal of the Egyptian Scarabæan gems, then their invention does not extend beyond Psammetichus who, according to Herodotus (ii. 152), first concluded an alliance with the Ionians and Carians, and gave them settlements on both banks of the Nile. For, S. Quintino's view, that the smaller Scarabæi with kings' names took the place of

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bei den Aegyptiern die Stelle der Münzen vertraten, wie auch wohl das thönerne Geld der ältesten Römer, nach Suidas unter Ἀρράρια, Scarabäen von gebrannter Erde waren, erhält Beglaubigung durch die Nachricht im Eryxias des Plato oder Aeschines, daß in Aethiopien geschnittene Steine statt des Geldes im Gebrauche waren: weßhalb auch wohl Diodor, i. 78, Fälschungen der Siegel, in den Gesetzen der alten Aegyptier, mit den Fälschungen der Münzen, Maße und Gewichte auf gleiche Linie stellt.

Die Kunst Edelsteine zu graviren, und Münzstempel zu stechen, kam in Griechenland fast zu gleicher Zeit auf: denn für das gleich hohe Alterthum der Steinschneidekunst spricht auch der rohe und alterthümlich strenge Stil mehrer noch erhaltener griechischer Gemmen. Ob der Ring des Samiers Polykrates, der nach Herodot, iii. 56, schon die Spartaner mit verfälschtem Gelde betrog, geschnitten gewesen sei — wie es Strabo und Pausanias andeuten — wird nach Herodot, iii. 41, und Plinius, xxxvii. 4, zwar zweifelhaft; aber das Solonische Gesetz beugte, nach Diogenes Laertius, i. 2, § 57, schon eben so sehr den Betrügereien der Ringschneider vor, als, nach Demosthenes, in Timocrat. in fin. Op. i. p. 763 ff., der Verfälschung gemünzten Silbergeldes. Nach Hermippus war selbst des Pythagora's Vater ein Ringschneider, und wie die reichen Samier (Herodot vi. 152), deren Elle auch gleiches Maß mit der ägyptischen hatte (Herodot ii. 168), mit Aegypten in Verkehr standen, beschreibt Herodot besonders auch, iii. 39. Die unförmlichen Χελώνια der Aegineten verrathen allerdings noch mehr Aehnlichkeit mit den ägyptischen Scarabäen, als die böotischen Münzen mit dem Schilde, oder die korynthischen mit dem Pegasus; aber die Bienen auf den Münzen von Ephesus mögen den lydischen Nachbildungen ägyptischer Scarabäen ursprünglich noch näher gekommen sein. Mögen also in Aegina immerhin die ältesten Münzen des eigentlichen

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coins among the Egyptians, (as also that the clay money of the old Romans according to Suidas, under Ἀσσάρια, were Scarabæi of baked clay), receives credibility from the information in the Eryxias of Plato or Æschines, that engraved stones were in use in Æthiopia instead of money; for which reason, also, Diodorus (i. 78) places forgeries of seals on the same footing with forgeries of coins, weights, and measures in the laws of the ancient Egyptians.

The art of engraving precious stones, and of cutting dies for coin, sprung up in Greece almost at the same time; for the rough and severe antique style of several Greek gems yet preserved, speaks also for the equally high antiquity of the art of engraving on stone. Whether the ring of the Samian Polycrates, who, according to Herodotus (iii. 56) cheated the Spartans with adulterated money, was engraved, as Strabo and Pausanias imply, is certainly doubtful, according to Herodotus (iii. 41), and Pliny (xxvii. 4). But even the law of Solon made provision, according to Diogenes Laertius (ii. § 57), just as much against the frauds of the ring engravers, as, according to Demosthenes, in Timocrates (*in fine Op.* i. p. 763), the falsifying of coined silver money. According to Hermippus, even the father of Pythagoras was a ring engraver. And Herodotus particularly describes (iii. 39) how the rich Samians (Herodotus iii. 152), whose ell was of the same measure as the Egyptians (Herodotus ii. 168), had a commercial intercourse with Egypt. The misshapen χελώνια (tortoises) of the Æginetæ, betrayed certainly a still greater resemblance to the Egyptian Scarabæi, than the Bœotian coins to a shield, or the Corinthian to Pegasus. But the bees upon the coins of Ephesus, may have originally come still nearer to the Lydian imitations of the Egyptian Scarabæi. Still, then, the oldest coins of Greece itself may have been

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Griechenlands geprägt seyn, noch älter waren die Goldmünzen der Lydier. Nach Pollux machten auch die Naxier Anspruch auf die Erfindung geprägten Geldes; doch wird dieses eben so wenig beglaubigt, als des Lucanus (Phars. vi. 402) Nachricht, daß ein alter thessalischer Fürst, Jonos, das erste Metallgeld geschlagen habe. Andere Sagen — wie wenn Plutarch im Leben des Theseus (24, 3) versichert, Theseus, nach andern gar Erichthonius, habe Geld mit dem Bilde eines Stiers geschlagen—widerlegt Homer, welcher (Illiade vii. 472, xxiii. 702: Od. i. 430) nur Tauschhandel kennt. Noch in Drakons Gesetzen war (nach Pollux ix. 61) ein δεκάβοιον als Strafe bestimmt, was sich kaum so erklären läßt, wie das Etymologicum Magnum unter ἑκατόμβη, und auch Eustathius zu Homers Illiade, ii. 479 (vergl. xxi. 79), bemerkt: man habe die Münzen βόες genannt, weil die alten Athener das Bild eines Stieres auf die Münzen geprägt hätten. Weit richtiger schreibt Hesychius: Δεκάβοιον ἀριθμὸς πόσος καὶ σταθμὸς, ἐφ' ᾧ τετύπωτο βοῦς, mit einem Zusatze, welcher den Ursprung der Sage von Phidons Münzenprägen aufklärt: ἔνιοι δὲ Δηλίων τὸν βοῦν νόμισμα εἶναι φασίν.

Wie geneigt die alten Schriftsteller waren, bloße Geldgewichte in Münzen zu verkehren, ersieht man auch daraus, daß Xenophon (de republ. Laced. vii. 5) das große Eisengewicht, bei dessen Besitze sich die Lakedämonier (nach dem Eryxias des Aeschines, ii. 24) reich glaubten, ein νόμισμα nennt; Nikolaus von Damaskus aber (bei Stobäus, p. 293, ed. Gern.) sogar durch Verwechselung dessen, was im Eryxias vom punischen Gelde gesagt wird — wie Seneca, de beneficiis, v. 14, extr. — in ledernes Geld umwandelt. Daher kam es denn auch, daß Plutarch im Leben des Lykurgus (cap. 9), wie anderwärts, sich nicht zu schreiben scheuete, Lykurgus habe den frühern Gebrauch der Gold- und Silbermünze abgeschafft, und nur eisernes Geld zu gebrauchen gestattet, ungeachtet der Argive Phidon, selbst nach der frühesten

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stamped in Ægina, though the gold coins of the Lydians were still older. According to Pollux, the Naxians also laid claim to the invention of stamped money; but this is as little credible as Lucan's statement (Pharsalia vi. 402), that an ancient Thessalian prince, Ionos, stamped the first metal coins. Other traditions, as when Plutarch, in the life of Theseus (xxiv. 3.), asserts that Theseus, or, according to others, even Erichthonius, stamped money with the image of a bull, are contradicted by Homer, who (*Iliad* vii. 472; xxiii. 702: *Od.* i. 430) is acquainted only with barter. Again, in Draco's laws, a δεκάβοιον (according to Pollux ix. 61) was appointed as a punishment, which can hardly be explained; as the *Etymol. Mag.* under ἑκατόμβη, and Eustathius upon Homer, *Il.* ii. 479. (compare xxi. 79), observe, that the coins were called βόες, because the ancient Athenians had stamped the image of a bull upon their coins. Hesychius writes much more correctly, Δεκάβοιον ἀριθμὸς πόσος καὶ σταθμὸς ἐφ' ᾧ τετύπωτο βοῦς, with an addition which explains the origin of the tradition of Phidon's coinage, ἔνιοι δὲ Δηλίων τὸν βοῦν νόμισμα εἶναι φασίν.

How prone ancient writers were to convert mere weights of money into coin, is evident also from this, that Xenophon (*de Repub. Laced.* vii. 5) applies the term νόμισμα to the great iron weight, by the possession of which, the Lacedemonians, according to the Eryxias of Æschines (ii. 24) thought themselves rich. Nicolaus of Damascus, however, in *Stobæus* (p. 293, *Ed. Gern*), by a perversion of what is said in the Eryxias of Punic money, as Seneca *de Beneficiis* (v. 14. extr.) changes it into leather money. Thence, also, it came that Plutarch, in the Life of Lycurgus (cap. ix), as elsewhere, did not hesitate to write "Lycurgus abolished the ancient use of gold and silver coin, and appointed only iron money for use;" notwithstanding that the Argive

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Zeitbestimmung der pariſchen Marmorchronik, nur 15 Jahre vor Lykurgus ſeine Geldveränderung vornahm. Nach ſolchen unbegründeten Behauptungen mag man nun beurtheilen, was man von Plutarchs Verſicherung zu halten habe, wenn er in ſeinen Fragen über römiſche Gebräuche ſchreibt, daß die Römer außer den alten Münzen mit doppeltem Janushaupte und Schiffstheile, — um welcher willen Macrobius, i. 7, ſogar den Janus, wie Iſidor, Origg. xvi. 183, den Saturnus die erſte Kupfermünze prägen ließ — auch noch andere Münzen gehabt hätten, deren Gepräge ein Rind, Schaf oder Schwein geweſen ſei. Varro, R. R. ii. 1, 9, behauptet freilich dasſelbe, und Plinius ſchreibt ſogar in ſeiner Naturgeſchichte, xviii. 3, ganz beſtimmt: "Servius Rex ovium boumque effigie primus æs signavit," ungeachtet noch Niemand dergleichen Münzen gefunden hat, und Plinius, xxxiii. 13, ſelbſt nur einfach meldet: "Servius Rex primus signavit æs: antea rudi usos Romæ Timæus tradit;" obwohl mit dem Zuſatze: "Signatum est nota pecudum, unde et pecunia appellata." Allein beide Schriftſteller deuten zugleich an, was dieſen Glauben veranlaßte, weil man einem alten Herkommen zufolge die Goldſtrafen nach Schafen und Rindern zu beſtimmen pflegte; und was die Benennung des Geldes bei den Römern betrifft, ſo ſagt Columella (R. R. vi. præfat.) ganz richtig: Nomina quoque *pecuniæ* et *peculii* tracta videntur a *pecore*, quoniam id solum veteres possederunt, et adhuc apud quasdam gentes unum hoc usurpatur divitiarum genus. Vergleiche Cicero, de republ. apud Nonium s. v. *Pecuniosus*.

G. F. Grotefend.

Nachſchrift. — Das Reſultat des Ganzen iſt, daß obgleich die Römer zuerſt Kupfer, dann Silber, und zuletzt Gold prägten, die Lydier umgekehrt zuerſt, ungefähr ſiebenhundert Jahre vor Chriſti Geburt, Gold, dann die Aegineten, noch vor Solon, auch Silber, ſo wie die Römer, ſeit Servius Tullius Kupfer münzten.

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Phido, even according to the earliest date of the Parian (marble) chronicle, made his alteration in the currency only fifteen years before Lycurgus. From such unfounded assertions, we may now decide what confidence ought to be placed in Plutarch's assertion, when he writes, in his questions about Roman customs, that the Romans, besides the old coins with a double Janus' head, and part of a ship (on account of which Macrobius [i. 7], even made Janus, as Isidorus Origines [xvi. 183], made Saturn, to have stamped the first copper coins), had also other coins on which the impression was an ox, a sheep, or a hog. Varro, indeed, (*de R. R.* ii. 1. 9) affirms the same thing; and Pliny, in his Natural History (xviii. 3), even writes quite positively, "Servius Rex ovium boumque effigie primus æs signavit" notwithstanding that as yet, no one has found any such coins; and Pliny himself (xxxiii. 13) only announces simply, "Servius Rex primus signavit æs; antea rudi usos Romæ Timæus tradit;" adding "Signatum est nota pecudum unde et pecunia appellata." But both authors, at the same time, hint what was the occasion of this belief; because, according to an old custom, pecuniary fines were wont to be paid by sheep and oxen. And, as far as concerns the naming of the money among the Romans, Columella (*R. R.* 6. *præf.*) says quite correctly, "Nomina quoque *pecuniæ* et *peculii* tracta videntur a *pecore*, quoniam id solum veteres possederunt, et adhuc apud quasdam gentes unum hoc usurpatur divitiarum genus." Compare Cicero de Rep. apud Nonium, sub voce *Pecuniosus*.

G. T. GROTEFEND.

P. S.—The result of the whole is, that although the Romans stamped copper first, then silver, and at last gold, the Lydians, on the contrary, first, about B. C. 700, stamped gold coin; then the Æginetæ, before Solon's time, stamped silver coin; and the Romans copper, after Servius Tullius.

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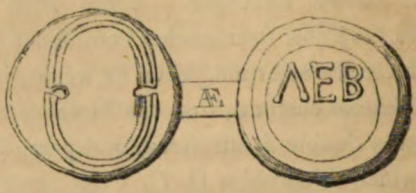

XXXI.

COINS OF LEBADIA AND OF ZACYNTHUS.

Having recently arranged the cabinet of the Chevalier de Horta, we were much gratified on finding several coins of more than usual interest. Among these there is one which cannot fail to engage the attention of numismatists. An accurate representation of it is given above.

Having submitted this curious piece to the experienced eye of Mr. Burgon, we shall proceed to avail ourselves of the remarks suggested to that gentleman by its examination. The coin may be thus described:—

Obv.—Bœotian shield.

℞.—ΛEB occupying the field of the coin.

The type and inscription on this coin are alone sufficient to show that it must be attributed, beyond all doubt, to Lebadia, a Bœotian town mentioned by several ancient writers. Pausanias gives us an interesting account of Lebadia, and informs us that the shield of Aristomenes was preserved there.[1] It is also mentioned by Ptolemy, Strabo,

[1] Lib. ix., c. xxxix.

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Pliny, and other writers, from whom we learn that it was situated near Mount Helicon, and was famous for the oracle of Jupiter Trophonius. Although it was evidently a place of some note, no coins of this town have hitherto been discovered; the present specimen, therefore, becomes doubly interesting, inasmuch as it is not only unique, but authorises us to add a new town to numismatic geography.

No Bœotian coin of this type has, we believe, been yet published, except one of Orchomenus, with the inscription, ΟΡΧ[2]; but there are two coins in the cabinet of Mr. Burgon exactly of a similar class.

1. *Obv.*—Bœotian shield.
   Rev.—TAN occupying the field of the coin.
2. *Obv.*—Bœotian shield.
   Rev.—ΘΕΣ occupying the field of the coin.

It is worthy of remark, that these two coins are not only of the same type, but of the same age, size, style of work, mode of minting, and metal, as the coin of Lebadia, and probably of that of Orchomenus, described by Mionnet also. It is, therefore, very probable, that future researches and discoveries may bring to light similar coins of other Bœotian cities; and a careful examination into the history of Bœotia, from one hundred to two hundred years before Christ (which Mr. Burgon considers to be the age of these coins), might furnish us with the precise event to which the striking of them is to be referred; their appearance indicating some *Bœotian confederation or association*, which, according to the present state of our knowledge, as derived from the coins, seems confined to the cities of Lebadia, Orchomenus, Thespiæ, and Tanagra.

[2] Mionnet, Vol. II. p. 106, No. 79.

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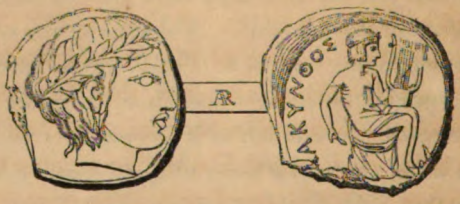

The next coin, which is here faithfully represented, is of Zacynthus:—

Obv.—Laureated head of Apollo? to the right, with short hair.

℞.—[Z]AKYNΘOΣ. Naked seated figure (Zacynthus) playing on a lyre, looking to the right.

This rare and interesting coin of the Island of Zacynthus (the modern Zante), offers an example of an inscription, which doubtless is to be understood as referring to the personage represented. Without noticing the fabulous history of Zacynthus, Pausanias furnishes us with sufficient information to enable us to assume, that it is probably as founder of the Acropolis of the town of Zacynthus, in the island of the same name, that he appears upon the coin.

The inscription being very clear and well defined on this specimen, gives reason to suppose that the coin published by Pellerin,[3] with ZAKYNΘOY, may perhaps have been misread, owing to defective preservation, such variations in the style of the inscription being of rare occurrence on coins of the same place: and it is worthy of remark, that the coins of Cephalenia have, on the reverse, the hero

[3] *Recueil*, Vol. III. p. 40; Plate xciii.; No. 1.

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Cephalus, with the inscription, ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ[4], thus showing a similarity of motive in the type and style of inscription on the coins of both islands.

Among the slight notices of the personage Zacynthus, we do not find, on ancient authority, that he was a poet; but the present specimen authorises such an opinion, Zacynthus being represented in a similar manner to Homer and other poets, on all kinds of ancient monuments. The figure on this coin wears a diadem, and is holding the plectrum in the right hand, while he modulates the strings of the lyre, posed on his knee, with the left. It is difficult to pronounce with certainty on what he is sitting; it may be a rock, partly covered with drapery, or with the mantle of the poet; but it also resembles a kind of crescent-shaped seat.

Mr. Burgon observes, that the weight of this coin is 164 grains; but, as a small projection from the edge has been cut off, it may be supposed to have lost from 15 to 20 grains, and is probably a didrachm of the Æginetan talent, that standard having been very generally adopted by the islands of Greece.

The style of workmanship, as well as the style of minting, observable on this coin, are to be attributed to an early period. The round die with which the reverse was struck, is as old as the square die on many of the Athenian Tetradrachms; and the coin was probably minted above 500 years before Christ.

[4] De Bosset's "Essai sur les Médailles Antiques des Isles de Céphalenie et d'Ithaque." Pl. i., No. 1.

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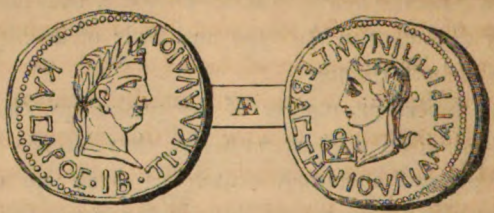

A third coin, from the same collection, differs, we believe from any yet published :—

Obv.—ΤΙ · ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ · ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ · ΙΒ. (year 12). Laureated head of Claudius.

R.—ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ · ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ · ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ. [The people of the Bosphorus worship] *the Empress Julia Agrippina.* Head of Agrippina: before it, in the field, a monogram, composed of the letters ΒΑ · ΚΩ. for Βασιλεως Κωτυος.

This interesting coin, by the legend of the reverse, shows that the Empress had divine honours paid to her by the people of the Bosphorus, who place the heads of the Emperor and Empress on the current coin, while the name of their own prince is expressed simply by a monogram.

XXXII.

NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

No. 1.

MONNAIES INCONNUES DES EVEQUES DES INNOCENS, DES FOUS, ET DE QUELQUES AUTRES ASSOCIATIONS SINGULIÈRES DU MEME TEMPS, RECUEILLIES ET DÉCRITES, par M. M. J. R. D'AMIENS; avec des Notes, et une Introduction sur les Espèces de Plomb, le Personnage de Fou, et les Rebus dans le Moyen Age, par M. C. L.—8vo. Paris, 1837. London: Kernot.

THE Money of Fools! The Money of Fools! Verily this sounds like a contradiction. Where is the numismatic

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enquirer who ever heard of fools having money? Where is the man of the world who ever heard of people having money who were considered fools? Such was the very natural exclamation which involuntarily escaped from us, on first glancing at the title page of this curious volume.

A nearer examination of its contents, however, while it has left unanswered the second, or ethical, portion of our enquiry—Whoever heard of people who had money, and were, by this gold-loving world, accounted as fools?—has demonstrated to us most satisfactorily, what we believe to be as yet unknown to the majority of our readers, the existence of a number of pieces which are fully entitled to be considered as Monnaies des Fous.

These pieces are of lead; and the discovery of a considerable quantity of money formed of this material, is, independently of the peculiar object for which such money had been coined, an object of considerable interest. Leaden money[1] forms, in fact, an exception in the numismatic history of Europe; and so rarely has it appeared, and then under such peculiar circumstances, as almost to exclude it from being classed as "money," according to the acceptation in which that term is generally received.

It was in the winter of 1832, that M. Rey of Amiens, the author of this volume, remarked, among a number of old coins offered to him for sale, some leaden pieces of a very peculiar formation, and of the origin of which he was then ignorant. They had mostly come from the cabinet of a collector who was in the habit of pur-

[1] The existence of leaden money among the ancients was, for a long time, a disputed point; but the discovery during the last century of a number of genuine antique leaden coins—the *nummi plumbei* of Plautus and Martial, solved all doubts upon the subject.—See *Jobert, Science des Medailles.* Tome i., p. 64, et seq.

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chasing from the workmen all the curiosities they met with in pulling down the old buildings of the neighbourhood; and whose collection, after some years spent in its formation, had eventually been dispersed.

In the hope of meeting with other pieces of a similar character, M. Rey visited several collections which had been formed in a similar manner; and, by the kindness of their proprietors, he eventually became the possessor of about one hundred such pieces, in a very good state of preservation.

He soon perceived that they had been struck in celebration of those extraordinary Saturnalia of the middle ages, the Fête des Innocens or des Fous; and probably to preserve the memory of such events. This discovery, according to our author, teaches us a fact hitherto unknown, namely, that the Fool-bishops, of three or four centuries since, not content with burlesquing, in the most outrageous manner, the episcopal office and its most sacred duties, claimed *the right of coining money!* From this opinion, however, M. Lebec, the author of the Introduction to the volume, dissents, and, as it seems to us, with very good reason. There was, in fact, no right in the case; they were enabled to do so, either because the practice was tolerated as forming part of a ceremonial which had nothing serious in it, or because the mock ecclesiastics should be thereby enabled to parody, to the fullest extent, the authority of those whose names, vestments, and attributes, they had for a time assumed.

The researches of Savaron, Des Lyons, du Tilliot, and M. Lebec himself, have shown that the mummeries which were for so long a period annually exhibited within the walls of all the churches in France, between Christmas-day and the Epiphany, were derived from the Saturnalia with

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which the Romans welcomed in the new year; and our author remarks, that the discovery of these leaden medals, struck in commemoration of the Feast of Fools, furnishes an additional argument in support of this opinion, inasmuch as such pieces are themselves an imitation of those which were in circulation among the Romans during the Saturnalia.[2]

At such times, devoted as they were to folly of every kind, games of hazard formed a prolific source of amusement; but as a law, mentioned by Lucian, prohibited the use of the current coin of the time for such a purpose, means were adopted to supply its place. Augustus used, on such occasions, to make presents to his acquaintances, of old or foreign coins; but, few participating in his bounty, recourse was generally had to leaden tokens. Besides, as every thing ridiculous tended to heighten the enjoyment of the fun, a custom arose of making presents of most insignificant value, such as copper and leaden counters, little figures of baked clay—the consumption of which was so great, that the fair for the disposal of these "*sigillæ*," as they were called, lasted several days!

One of the principal ceremonies of the Saturnalia consisted in the electing, in every house, by choice or by lot, a king from among the slaves, which king distributed among his subjects leaden tokens, representing the figure, or emblem, of his master, the deity whom he most delighted to honour, or such jests and pleasantries as were best calculated to add to the merriment of the day.

These facts are proved by several such monuments of antiquity, which have been preserved to the present times.

[2] Sigillariorum Celebritas—Sigilla venalia.—Saturnalibus talium commerciorum celebritas cæpta septem occupat dies—Macrobius *Saturnaliorum*, lib. i., cap. x. et xi.

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Pierre Seguin first published, in 1684 (*Selecta Numismata Antiqua*), a leaden coin, which appeared to be of the age of the Emperor Claudius, and on which was engraved the joyous cry of the Saturnalia, "IO · SAT · IO." Baudelot de Dairval, in his *Utilité des Voyages* (t. ii. 1686), has inserted a dissertation on this medal, and mentions several of a similar character. Ficoroni, who collected a number of leaden pieces (*I. Piombi Antichi*, 1740), looks upon them as having been struck at the time of the Saturnalia;[3] an opinion which coincides with that expressed by Caylus in his *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tome iii. p. 288.

If the kings of the Saturnalia thus imitated, as far as in them lay, the kings and emperors who, on their accession, distributed their *largesse*, the bishops of the innocents imitated also the bishops whose places they had assumed, the more powerful of whom enjoyed the right of coining money, and were accustomed to make a distribution of it on their first entrance into the cathedral of their diocese.

But we must desist; the work is one which will scarcely admit of analysis, and which is the less necessary, as the novelty of the subject will no doubt tempt many of our readers to examine it for themselves; we can cordially recommend it to them, not only for the light which it throws directly upon the very curious branch of numismatic lore to which it is devoted, not only for the admirable and spirited manner in which the medals are engraved, but also for the abundance of amusing information which it contains on the subject of the mock religious feasts when these

[3] See more particularly, in the second part (Tab. vii., No. 20.), one with the inscription VAL · SATVRNALIA, "*Valeant Saturnalia*;" and another (Tab. xv., No. 1.), almost like it, described by Seguin.

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medals were struck, on the fashion of keeping fools and jesters, on the rebuses of the middle ages, and many other cognate matters, illustrative of the history of life and manners.

No. 2.

ATLAS DE GÉOGRAPHIE NUMISMATIQUE, POUR SERVIR A LA DESCRIPTION DES MÉDAILLES. Par T. E. MIONNET.—Paris. 4to. 1838.

THE services rendered to numismatic science by the Chevalier Mionnet, are appreciated and acknowledged by the numismatists of Europe. The present Atlas is intended as an accompaniment to his well-known "Description de Médailles Antiques Grecques et Romaines," and, as such, will be welcomed by all engaged in the study of ancient coins. The work comprises seven plates, as follow:—Plate I. Orbis Veteribus Notus. II. Hispania. III. Gallia. IV. Thracia, Mœsia, Sarmatia Europæa. V. Italia Inferior, Græcia. VI. Asia Minor. VII. Africa, Egyptus, Judæa. These plates are executed by Mons. A. H. Dufour, and are remarkable for their neatness and beauty. Much pains have been taken in settling disputed points in ancient geography, left undecided by Eckhel and Sestini; and the author congratulates himself on the addition of a new town, namely, *Mirobriga*, in Lusitania, communicated by the Viscount de Santarem, who possesses an unique coin of that municipality. We have only to regret that the discovery of the unique coin of *Lebadia*, which appears in our present number, came too late to be made available.

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The cities, as they appear on the maps, are thus distinguished:—A *tablet* denotes those who enjoyed their own laws; the *cap of liberty* denotes the free cities: *two hands joined* mark the alliances: the metropoles are indicated by *a fortified place;* the *first* by a different kind of building; those which styled themselves Neocori, by a *temple with a priest standing near.* Those who claimed the right of asylum, by *an open temple.* The cities with ports, by a *vessel.* The colonies, by *a yoke of oxen;* and the municipalities, by a *ploughshare.*

An alphabetical list of the cities of antiquity of which coins are known, should have accompanied this Atlas, which, we feel confident, will add to the reputation of its indefatigable projector.

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MISCELLANIES.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN THE SANDHILLS, OR DOWNS, NEAR DEAL, IN 1832.

(*Now in the possession of W. H. Rolfe, Esq., of Sandwich*).

REVERSES.

JULIA MAMAEA

P. M. Tr. P. II. Cos. P. P.[1]

VALERIANUS

Felicitas Augg.

Oriens Augg.

GALLIENUS

Aeternitas Aug.

Apollini Cons. Aug., (centaur with bow and arrow).

Idem (centaur with a globe and lyre).

Idem (a griffin).

Æquitas Aug.

Dianæ Cons. Aug.

Diana Felix.

Felicit Publ.

Felici Aug.

Fides Milit.

Fides Militum.

Impx...P...V.

Jovi Cons, Aug. (a goat).

Fortuna Redux.

Jovi Conservat.

Jovi Propugnat.

Jovi Ultori.

Indulgentia Aug.

Liberal Aug.

Libero P. Cons. Aug. (panther).

Libertas Aug.

Laetitia Aug.

Mars. Ultor.

Marti Pacifero.

Neptuno Cons. Aug.

Oriens Aug.

Pax Aeterna Aug.

Pax Aug.

Pax Publica.

Pietas Aug.

Provi Aug.

Provid. Aug.

Pudicitia IIII.

Salus. Aug.

Securit Perpet.

Secur. Tempo.

Securit. Aug.

Soli Cons. Aug. (Pegasus).

Victoria Aet.

[1] This is one of the coins referred to in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, p. 148; the reverse being taken, without regard to applicability of legend, from a coin of Alexander Severus.

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Victoria Aug.
Uberitas Aug. (varieties).
Virtus Augusti.

SALONINA
Fecunditas Aug.
Fortuna Redux.
Juno Conservat.
Junoni Cons. Aug.
Juno Regina.
Pudicitia.
Venus Victrix.
Vesta.

SALONINUS
Consecratio (altar).

AURELIANUS
Provident Aug.
Securit Aug.

POSTUMUS
Concord Equit.
Cos. IIII.
Fortun. Aug.
Moneta Aug.
Pax Aug.
P. M. Tr. P. Cos. II. P.P.
Virtus Aug.
Imp. X. Cos. V.
Virtus Equit.
Providentia Aug.
Herc. Pacifero.
Pax Equitum.
Victoria Aug.

VICTORINUS
Aequitas Aug. On the obverse —*Imp. C. Pi. Victorinus.* [2]
Consecratio (an eagle).
Invictus.
Pax Aug.
Pietas Aug.
Providentia Aug.
Salus Aug. (2 types).
Virtus Aug. (2 types).

MARIUS
Concord. Milit.
Saec. Felicitas.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS
Aequitas Aug.
Annon. Aug.
Annona Aug.
Consecratio (an altar).
Idem (an eagle).
Felic. Tempo.
Felicitas Aug.
Fides Exerci.
Fides Milit.
Fides Militum.
Genius Aug.
Genius Exerci.
Iovi Statori.
Iovi Victori.

[2] This of Victorinus is totally unlike the rest—the nose turns up, and the countenance resembles strongly that of Postumus.

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Libert. Aug.
Mars Ultor.
Marti Pacifero.
Pax Aug.
P. M. Tr. P. II. Cos. PP.
Provid. Aug.
Provident Aug.
Salus Aug.
Spes Aug.
Spes Publica.
Securit Aug.
Victoria Aug.
Virtus Aug.

TETRICUS

Comes Aug.
Fides Militum.
Hilaritas Augg.
Laetitia Augg.
Pax Aug.
Princ. Invent.
Salus Aug.
Spes Aug.
Spes Publica.
Victoria Aug.
Virtus Augg.

TETRICUS JUNIOR

Comes Aug.
Pax Aug.
Pietas Aug.
Pietas Augustor.
Princ. Ivvent.
Spes Publica.

UNITED SERVICE MUSEUM.—We are gratified to learn, by the Report just issued, that much attention has been paid by the Council of this Institution to the formation of a Collection of Coins and a Numismatic Library. Some of the rarest and most valuable ancient coins have been brought to this country by our naval officers; and this fact alone would be a sufficient reason for the establishment of a cabinet in that thriving Institution. In the Report, allusion is made "to the collection of Greek Coins, not only rare, but also of great intrinsic value, so liberally presented by Commander F. W. Rooke, R. N." The Report also states, "It may be proper to remind the members, that the library is now furnished with such a collection of Numismatic Works as will enable those who have the wish, to commence those researches in that branch of science." We believe this accession to their Numismatic Library is mainly attributable to the exertions of their active and intelligent Director, Mr. L. H. J. Tonna, a gentleman who can well appreciate the value and importance of medallic studies.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The Society again met on THURSDAY, the 27th of December, 1838.

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Presents of Numismatic and other Works, from M. W. Gesenius of Halle, J. B. Böhl of Coblenz, and F. de Saulcy, &c. &c., were announced.

The papers read were—

I.

On the Eagle and Thunderbolt on Roman Coins, by Samuel Sharpe, Esq.

II.

The first portion of a Memoir on the light afforded by Ancient Coins in tracing the progress of Civilisation, by John Owen Tudor, Esq.

A letter was read from Mr. Wansey, in illustration of some Roman Coin Moulds, which he exhibited to the Society.

The Chevalier P. O. Brönsted was unanimously elected an *associate*.

The Society then adjourned to

THURSDAY, 24th of JANUARY, 1839.

The President in the Chair.

Among other presents to the Society, were specimens of the singular Iron Money of Kordofan, of which an engraving appears in our present number.

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The papers read were—

I.

The concluding portion of Mr. Tudor's Memoir on the light afforded by Ancient Coins in tracing the progress of Civilisation.

II.

A Notice of the Iron Money of Kordofan, by Mr. Arthur T. Holroyd.

Mr. W. H. Rolfe, of Sandwich, exhibited to the Society several Coins discovered in Kent; among them a Gaulish coin dug up at Sandwich, pennies of Offa and Ethelred, and a very curious styca, with the reverse of the Wolf and Twins, found in the Isle of Thanet.

Mr. W. R. Hamilton exhibited a Medallion of the Queen by Signor Pistrucci.

The following gentlemen were elected *associates* of the Society:—

The Marquis Roger de Lagoy, of Aix.
Mons. Adr. de Longpèrier, of the Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.
Mons. Leon Guioth of Liège.
Signor D. O. Fontana, of Trieste.

The undermentioned were elected Members:—

Sir George Chetwynd, Baronet.
Mr. William Blake, of London.
John Owen Tudor, Esq., of Guildford.
W. H. Barton, Esq.
Major Shepherd.
Fletcher Raincock, Esq.

The Society then adjourned to—

THURSDAY, 28th of FEBRUARY.

The President in the Chair.

Presents were announced, and the following papers read:

I.

A Memoir, by Dr. Grotefend, on "What People first Stamped Money?"

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II.

A Note from Mr. C. R. Smith on the Coins of Constantius; with the exergual letters P · LON.

III.

Translation of a Notice of a Coin of Titiopolis, from the *Revue Numismatique*.

Mr. Akerman exhibited to the Society an unique Coin of Lebadia, in Bœotia, from the cabinet of the Chevalier de Horta.

James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., of Jesus College, Cambridge,

Was unanimously elected a Member of the Society; and

M. J. B. Böhl, of Coblenz, was elected an Associate.

The Society then adjourned to March 28th.

CORRESPONDENCE.

New Edition of Ruding.—We learn that No. 15 of this excellent work will not be published in the ensuing month, the arrangement of the additional matter requiring more time than was anticipated. The future parts will, however, appear with as much regularity as the nature of the required additions will admit.

It was our intention to give, with our present number, a full Catalogue of the Collection of Chevalier de Horta; but having found it impossible to complete the list in time, we propose giving the remainder with our next. This Collection has been brought to this country, and the Catalogue drawn up, with a view to its sale by private contract.

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THE

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE

EDITED BY

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A.

SECRETARY TO THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

VOL. II.

JUNE, 1839.—APRIL, 1840.

Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. *Fast.*

LONDON:

TAYLOR & WALTON, 28, UPPER GOWER STREET.

SOLD ALSO BY M. ROLLIN, RUE VIVIENNE, No. 10, PARIS.

M.DCCC.XL.

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TO

JAMES DODSLEY CUFF, ESQ., F.S.A.,

ONE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,

A PRACTICAL NUMISMATIST,

AND THE POSSESSOR OF A MOST VALUABLE CABINET OF

ANCIENT BRITISH, SAXON, AND ENGLISH COINS,

THIS,

THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,

IS

RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY

DEDICATED.

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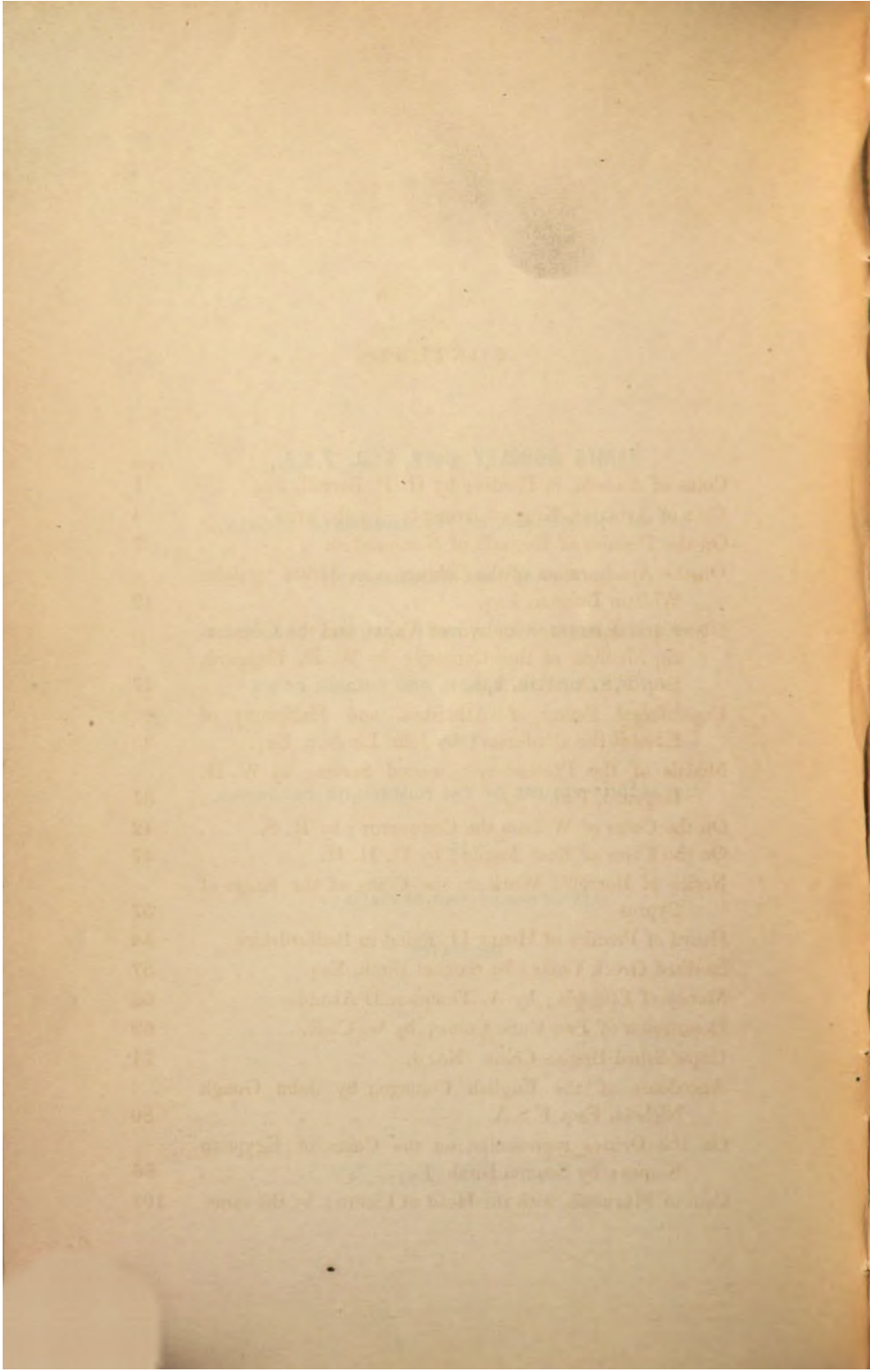

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FIG. 3.
Æ

FIG. 1.
Æ

FIG. 2.
Æ

Drawn & Engraved by H.A. Ogg.

UNPUBLISHED GREEK COINS.

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NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

COINS OF ANDEDA IN PISIDIA.

[In a Letter to the Editor.]

No. 1.—AY · AYP · ANT · CЄB. Laureated head of Marcus Aurelius to the right.

R. ANΔHΔЄΩN. The Pergaian Diana running, habited in a short tunic, to the right; a bow in her left hand, and with her right drawing an arrow from a quiver suspended from her shoulder: a stag by her side. Æ 4. (See Plate I. fig. 2.)

No. 2.—IOYΛIA · MAMЄAN · C. Head of Julia Mamæa to the right.

R. ANΔHΔЄΩN. The Pergaian Diana standing, habited in a short tunic; the left breast exposed; a bow in her left hand, and a stag at her feet. Æ 6½. (See Plate I. fig. 3.)

No. 3.—CAB · TPANKYΛΛЄINA · C. Head of Tranquillina to the right.

R. ANΔHΔЄΩN. An equestrian figure of the Emperor Gordianus, trampling on an enemy under his horse's feet. Æ 7.

No greater proof can be required of the obscurity in which the geography of Asia Minor is enveloped, and of its former populousness and prosperity, than the number of its towns, with which we become acquainted merely by a coin, or by the incidental notice of a solitary writer of the middle ages. And even when some of these towns are thus mentioned, their names are handed down to us with an ortho-

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graphy so corrupt, that it is scarcely possible to recognise them. Illustrative of these observations, are the three coins of Andeda, described above, of which but little doubt can exist that they belong to the town which Ptolemy calls *Adeda* (Lib. 5. Cap. 5); Hierocles, *Odada;* and Artemidorus, cited by Strabo, *Adadates* (Strabo, lib. xii. p. 570). The coins prove the correct reading to be—ANDEDA.

The situation of Andeda was in Pisidia, on the confines of Pamphylia, to which the type represented on our two coins, Nos. 1 and 2, of Marcus Aurelius and Julia Mamæa is suited; on both is seen the Pergaian Diana in different positions. The worship of this goddess was very prevalent in Pamphylia; and it is not astonishing that it should have extended into many cities of the adjoining provinces, whose inhabitants probably joined in the celebration of the annual festivals at her temple near Perga, on the river Cestrus.

If then the fact be admitted, that Andeda is the correct orthography of the town in Pisidia, which has been so variously written by ancient geographers, it follows that those numismatic authors who have attributed coins to *Adade*, are in error. One in copper, classed by Haym (Thes. Brit., tom. ii. p. 278; tab. 24, fig. 6. Ed. Lond.), to Addae, in Mesopotamia, and restored by Belley (B. L. T, xlii. Hist. p. 55) to Adada in Pisidia, may be cited; and Sestini (Lett. e Diss. Num. tom. vi. p. 73) has proved that the two coins published in the catalogues of the Pembroke Collection, and the Museo Hedervariano, and there classed to Adeda, are both of Tarentum, in Calabria.

The two coins of Andeda, Nos. 1 and 2, formed part of a collection which I took to England in 1831, and are now in the British Museum. The coin, No. 3 (of Sabina Tranquillina), is still in my possession. They were all brought

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from Pisidia, with coins of that and the neighbouring provinces, at different periods, and, I believe, are all unique and unpublished.

The discovery of these three coins of Andeda, in my opinion, serves to establish, that two coins published by Sestini, and classed by him to Perga, in Pamphylia, also belong to this city. I allude to the following:—

No. 1.—AY · KAI · M · AYP · AΛЄΞANΔ. Caput Laur. cum *palud.*

R. ANΔH · APTЄMI · ΠЄPΓA. Simulacrum Dianae Pergææ in templo distylo. Æ 3. (Ex. Mus. R. Bavariæ. Sestini. Lett. Cont. Tom. viii. p. 75, No. 16; and Mionnet, Suppt. vii. p. 53, No. 126.)

No. 2.—AΛЄΞANΔPOC. Caput. Sev. Alex. laur. cum palud.

R. ANΔH · APTEMIΔ · infra, ΠEPΓ. Idem typus ut supra. Æ 4. (Ex. Mus. Reg. Bavariæ. Sestini, l. c. No. 17, Tab. II. fig. 7.)

The first of these two coins is the same which Mionnet (tome iii. p. 553, No. 82) has classed to Anazarbus, in Cilicia, having been misguided by an incorrect description in the manuscript catalogue of M. Cousinery.

To explain the meaning of the unusual word ANΔH, Sestini says, "E dunque visibile che le prime due voci che si leggono tanto in questa che nella susseguente medaglia, sono ANΔH · APTЄMI cioè di Diana Andera, o Anderica, cosi dal nome della citta Andera della Misia, o da Anderica, secondo Erodoto, situata nella Susiana, che facia parte della Persia, dove quella dea si può credere che avesse culto, e introdotto in Perga sotto Alessandro Severo, con la qual leggenda combina quest' altra del predetto imperatore."

It is, however, evident to me (as I am persuaded it will be to the reader), that the initial letters ANΔH have no reference whatever to the figure of the goddess, as Sestini

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supposes, but represent in abbreviation the name of the city where the coin was struck, ΑΝΔΗδεων, and that it is the words ΑΡΤΕΜΙ · ΠΕΡΓ, for Αρτεμιδος · Περγαιας, which allude to the figure of the Diana of Perga, whose worship was doubtless cultivated by the people of Andeda, as is proved by the coins described in the beginning of this letter, where we find the legend complete.

I remain, &c.,

H. P. Borrell.

Smyrna, 22nd January, 1839.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 25th April, 1839.]

II.

COIN OF ARTAXIAS, KING OF ARMENIA.

[In a Letter to the Editor.]

Sir,

Desirous to contribute to your valued Journal, I beg to offer a description, accompanied by an impression, of a very remarkable coin of Germanicus, which came into my possession some short time ago, but which passed into the hands of Mr. Steuart, and I believe is now in some collection at Paris. The following is a description of the coin :—

Obv.—GERMANICVS · CAESAR · T. ... Naked head in profile of Germanicus to the right.

R.—Two youthful figures standing; behind the one is inscribed GERMANICVS, and behind the other, ARTAXIAS. Germanicus, in military costume, holds in his left hand a lance, and with his right hand is placing a *tiara* on the head of the second figure, who is standing front face. Æ. 4. Weight 48½ grains (English). (See Plate I. fig 1.)

The youthful figure, here represented receiving a tiara

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from the hands of Germanicus, is Zeno, son of Polemon, king of Pontus, who received the name of 'Artaxias,' from Artaxata, the capital city of Armenia, when the Armenians accepted him as their sovereign, at the instigation of the Romans commanded by Germanicus. For an explanation of this coin, it is sufficient to quote a passage from Tacitus, and the reader will be struck with the harmony which exists between the subject on the coin, and the account of the event given us by the historian.

Speaking of the difficulties experienced in Syria from the conduct of Piso, Tacitus says: "He [Germanicus] was fully assured of the proceedings [of Piso], but Armenia claimed his first attention. He hastened, without loss of time, to regulate the affairs of that kingdom—a kingdom where caprice and levity marked the national character, and the situation of the country encouraged the inconstancy of the people. Armenia borders a great length of way upon the Roman provinces; then stretches to a vast extent as far as the territory of the Medes. Hemmed in by two great empires, that of Parthia and Rome, the Armenians are never steady to either, but with their natural levity, alternately at variance with both: with the Romans, from rooted aversion: with the Parthians, from motives of ambition and natural jealousy. In the present juncture, the people were fixed on Zeno, the son of Polemon, king of Pontus. The young prince had shown, from his earliest youth, a decided inclination to Armenian manners. The sports of the chase were his favourite amusements. He delighted in carousing, festivals, and all the pastimes of savage life. For these qualities he was high in esteem, not only with the populace, but also the grandees of the nation. In this disposition of men's minds, Germanicus entered the city of Artaxata, and, amidst the

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acclamations of the people, *placed the diadem on the head of Zeno.* The Armenians paid homage to their new master, and, in the ardour of their zeal, proclaimed him king, by the name of *Artaxias*, in allusion to the place of his coronation."[1]

Hence this coin was struck to commemorate an important act of the Roman arms in the East, in the 771st year of Rome, or B.C. 18, and was one of the last of the many splendid services rendered by Germanicus to his country, as he died shortly after, a victim to the jealousy of that subtle monster Tiberius.

The coin was brought to me from Kaïsar, the ancient Cæsarea of Cappadocia, where it may have been struck, or perhaps in some other Asiatic mint, and I believe is unique.

I remain, your obedient humble servant,

H. P. BORRELL.

Smyrna, January 19, 1839.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 23d May, 1839.]

[1] "Nota hæc Germanico; sed præverti ad Armenios instantior cura fuit. Ambigua gens ea antiquitus hominum ingeniis, et situ terrarum, quo, nostris provinciis late prætenta, penitus ad Medos porrigitur; maximisque imperiis interjecti et sæpius discordes sunt, adversus Romanos odio, et in Parthum invidiâ. Regem illâ tempestate non habebant, amoto Vonone: sed favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem Polemonis regis Pontici filium, quod is, primâ ab infantiâ, instituta et cultum Armeniorum æmulatus, venatu, epulis et quæ alia barbari celebrant, proceres plebemque juxta devinxerat. Igitur Germanicus in urbe Artaxatâ approbantibus nobilibus, circumfusâ multitudine, insigne regium capiti ejus imposuit: cæteri venerantes regem, Artaxiam consalutavêre; quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis."—*Annales, lib.* ii. *cap.* lvi.

Lipsius observes on the concluding sentence, *Ex nomine urbis*, "Mirum, cum jam ante plures reges eo nomine fuerint." And Ryck remarks, "Vix inducor, ut a Taciti manu profecta credam ultima verba. Nam Zeno Artaxias appellatus non ab urbe Artaxata, ut hic dicitur, sed a conditore regni, seu primo Armeniæ rege Artaxia."—[EDITOR.]

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III.

ON THE PENNIES OF REGNALD.

In the second volume of the Numismatic Chronicle (page 119), there is engraved a penny of the Northumbrian king Regnald, which, along with one of Sihtric, figured in Lord Pembroke's plates, and the coins of Anlaf of the same type, is conjectured to be of Irish origin. I consider that this appropriation is incorrect, and think that they ought all to be assigned to Northumberland.

From the Saxon Chronicle, I collect the following dates respecting the Danish kings of Northumberland during the tenth century. In the year—

911 A battle was fought by Edward against the Northumbrian Danes, at Wodnesfield: in which it is recorded, that, along with other princes, Anlaf the Swarthy fell.

921 King Sihtric killed Neil his brother. In

923 King Regnald won York, but in

924 He acknowledged Edward as his master and lord. In

925 Athelstan gave his sister in marriage to Sihtric, who in

926 Departed from the kingdom. In

927 Athelstan expelled Guthfrith.

938 The celebrated battle of Brunonburgh was fought; when Anlaf was conquered; and, along with the other Danish princes, sought refuge in Ireland. In

941 The Northumbrians rebelled, and chose Anlaf for their king. He led an army in 943 to Tamworth, which he stormed; but having been afterwards besieged in Leicester, he made peace with Edmund, and was baptized. He died the same year. In the year

943 Regnald was reconciled to Edmund. In

944 Anlaf, son of Sihtric, and Regnald, son of Guthfrith, were expelled by Edmund. In

948 Edred overran Northumberland, because the inhabitants had chosen Eric for their king, whom they then expelled. In

949 *Anlaf Cwyran* came to Northumberland. By some authors

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this king is considered a different person from Anlaf, the son of Sihtric, who was banished in 944. Others suppose that the surname *Cwyran* is an adverb from cẏŋŋan, "*to return.*" In

952 This Anlaf was deposed, to make room for Eric, the son of Harold. Eric in his turn was banished,—

954 And Edred became king of Northumberland. In

993 Anlaf came with ninety-three ships to Staines. In the following year, he, along with Sweyn, attacked London; but being introduced to Etheldred, he promised never to invade England again. This promise he kept; and he shortly afterwards became king of Sweden.

It appears then, from the above, that we have recorded four at least, perhaps five, different princes of the name of Anlaf, connected with the history of this country in the tenth century. Passing over the first, who was probably nothing more than a Danish noble, we have three kings of Northumberland, to each of whom coins may be ascribed. Let us now examine the coins themselves. Of those in Ruding's 11th Plate, No. 3 (of Anlaf), is exactly similar in type to Nos. 8 and 9, Pl. xvi., and No. 1, Pl. xxviii. of Edward, and must be appropriated to Anlaf, the son of Guthfrith, who was cotemporary with him. No. 2, in the same plate, has the moneyer's name FARMAN. Mr. Simon, drawing an inference, from the similarity of this name to that of "Fœremin," who was a moneyer in Dublin under Ethelred II., assigns this piece to Anlaf of Dublin, who was cotemporary with Ethelred, and that mentioned above to one of the kings of Waterford. But the appropriation of both these coins to the Northumbrian kings is confirmed, by the resemblance of the first to the money of Edward the Elder, and by the circumstance that the name FARMAN, which appears on the other, closely resembles that of FARAMAN, who was a moneyer for Edmund, and is also found on the coins of Edgar. As the penny of

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Regnald, which resembles this in type, is imperfect, it is impossible to declare the name of his moneyer, the letters BA——C of the name being all that are legible. But if, as is very probable, we should supply the legend, as BALDRICMOTRA, this coin, by your correspondent so confidently assigned to the Irish series, must be given to Regnald of Northumberland, since BALDRIC was a moneyer for Edmund, Edred, and Edgar. The penny of Anlaf, of this type, in Ruding, differs from that in Simon, Pl. i. fig. 10; and in the British Museum is another, differing from both. The coin of Sihtric, in the Pembroke plates, resembling these, must follow their destination. The triquetra on these coins is found also on others of the Danish princes. Compare with them the curious pieces engraved in Mr. Lindsay's work on Irish coins, Pl. i. chap. 19; Pl. ii. chap. 36; which that author assigns to Anlaf VI., king of Dublin, A.D. 1041, and Regnald, king of Waterford, A.D. 1023.

No. 1, in Ruding's 11th plate, which bears the figure of a raven on the obverse, has the moneyer's name, AÐELFERD, and another reads AÐEFERD. A coin of Edward has AEÐFRED, which may be the same name. It does not occur on the money of any of the subsequent monarchs.

Another coin reads ANLAF CVNVNC°; reverse, ZICARESMOT. This moneyer is first found in the money of Edmund, to which this piece has a close resemblance, and this mode of expressing the genitive case appears first on the coins of Athelstan; so that this must have been issued in or after the year 941. Nos. 5, 6, 7, which read ONLOF, or ONLAF REX, and bear the names of the moneyers BACIALER and INGELGAR, who were employed by Edmund and Edred, and which also resemble the money of Eric, I would refer to that Anlaf who sup-

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planted Eric on the Northumbrian throne, and who was deposed in A.D. 952, when Eric was restored.

Several pennies of Anlaf, the cotemporary of Ethelred II., who is also called Onlaf, and Olaf (Tryggvason), are engraved in the second table of Brenner's Thesaurus Nummorum Suevgothicorum. The types of all are copied from the money of Ethelred.

The meaning of the sword which appears on the coins of Eric has long been matter of conjecture. The late Dr. Pegge, in his dissertation on the Ecclesiastical mints, supposed that these coins were fabricated in the Archiepiscopal mint of York; and in consequence were marked with the sword of St. Peter. On a bracteate of one of the northern kings of that name, I find a sword precisely similar to these.

There are a few coins connected with this series which Mr. Ruding left unexplained. They are engraved in his 30th plate, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. Two others, similar, are figured in plate E of the new edition. It seems to me, that with the exception of one, they are incorrectly attributed to the prelatical mint of York.

Pl. XXX. No. 3. *Obv.* ..... SCIETRM.
Rev.—A monogram ..... EBRAICIT.

——— 4, } A profile head..... RA⊢ENALT
Pl. E. No. 2. } *Rev.*—A monogram ..... EARICFCT.

Pl. XXX. No. 1. RANOOLT, a hand.
Rev.—A monogram ..... ΓIOACΓOA.

Pl. E. No. 3. *Obv*—RAGNOIST ..... } Same devices
Rev.—ΓIORACII ..... } as last.

Pl. XXX. No. 2. R⁘AGNOIΔT, a cross calvary.
Rev.—RABIOCIT, a bow and arrow.

The legends of the first of these require no explanation. The monogram which occurs on this coin, and which is copied on four of the others, is the same as that which we observe on the money of Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, kings of France. It is well known that

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Charlemagne introduced the use of monograms into the west of Europe, and that their first appearance on English coins was in the reign of Egbert. It is difficult to assign a reason for the occurrence of this monogram (Carlus), on an Archiepiscopal coin of York. It cannot be the name of a moneyer (which we never see thus placed on coins), although the names and titles of sovereigns, and occasionally the names of towns, are expressed in this manner: added to which, the same monogram appears on another coin, on which we read plainly, EARIC FCT (fecit); and the name Carlus is found on no other piece in the Anglo-Saxon series. We can only suppose, that the person who fabricated these coins, copied the device without knowing its meaning. By comparing the five remaining pennies, one with another, it appears to me, that we have the name of Regnald expressed on all, though very much blundered. This may easily be accounted for by the disturbed state of Northumberland at the time of his accession. Almost every one of the pennies of St. Peter is similarly blundered, and allowance must be made for the unsettled orthography of the age. I have found the name of Regnald spelt in nearly twenty different ways. Most of the devices on these coins are found on those which bear the name of St. Peter. The hand resembles the hand of Providence on the money of Ethelred II. The head may be intended for the portrait of Regnald, but the bow and arrow appear on no other Saxon coin. If my remarks upon these curious pieces be considered correct, we must assign an earlier date to the coins of St. Peter, from some of which these are evidently copied. The difference in point of execution between them and the other coins of Regnald, may be accounted for, by supposing these to have been struck at the beginning, and the others near the conclusion of his unsettled reign.

L. Y. H.

May 7, 1839.

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IV.

ON THE AMELIORATION OF THE COINAGE, A. D. 1560.

[In a Letter to the Editor.]

HAVING been occupied of late, as you are aware, in writing the life of Sir Thomas Gresham,—most of the materials for which have been derived from his unpublished correspondence, preserved in Her Majesty's State-Paper Office,—several curious passages in the financial history of his times, have come under my notice; the most interesting of which, according to promise, I will communicate to you, for the edification of your numismatic readers. It relates to the celebrated amelioration of the coinage, which took place in the year 1560.

Gresham, as might be expected, was in the secret long before it became generally known; indeed, it seems no unfair inference, from the correspondence which I am about to lay before you, that he was the originator of the whole scheme. Among the earliest of its promoters he certainly was; for, on the 7th of July, writing from Antwerp, where he was at that time residing, to Sir Thomas Parry, Treasurer of the Household, he says:—"Tomorrow departs from hense Danyell Wolstat, only to confer with you if it shall be the Quene's Majestie's pleasure to refine all her highness' base money. . . . . He is an honest man, to whom I am much beholden."[1] Whereas, more than three months after, we find Francis Alen, in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, noticing a rumour that the queen was about to refine her coinage, as if it were yet a profound secret. "There is like to be a calling downe of the base money I

[1] Flanders Correspondence, State-Paper Office.

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undrestande, very shortlye; and the Quene's Majestie hathe sworne that the daye and tyme shall be kepte secrete to herself, and that fewe besyds shall knowe. So as the very tyme, whensoever it chaunceth, will be so shorte and sodeyne, that men are like to have small warninge of the matter."[2]

But we are enabled, from the correspondence of Sir Thomas Gresham, to adduce further curious evidence on this subject,—more curious and more to the point, it is presumed, than any which has yet been made public. First in order, though not exactly first in date, is the following letter, which tells its own story sufficiently to render all preface and comment unnecessary. Not even need it be stated who was the bearer of it, or with what object he waited upon Sir Thomas Parry.

"Right honnorable Sir,

"It maye licke yow to undyrstond, that the bringger hereof ys Mr. Danyell Wollstat (he that mackes the offer for the reffyning of all our basse monny wythein our realme); whome, according as I have writtin yow, ys a very onnest man, and substanciall anowffe for the perfformans of the same. Nevertheles, he offerrythe to put in sewrties here in the cite of Andwarpe, or ells in the cite of London, as it shall stonde wythe the Queene's Majestie's pleasseur. Other I have not to molest your honnor wytheall; but that I shall most humbly dessire yow (and the rather at my prefferment), [that] he maye have your favorable inteteynement and preferment in this his sewte; and that he maye have acces unto you from tyme to tyme, for his speedye and better dispache. Assewring your honnor, yf the matter doo tacke plasse, yow shall fynde hym no unethanckefull

[2] Lodge's Illustrations, 4to. vol. i. p. 345.—Sept. 3, 1560.

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man; for this of hymsellfe he dessyryd me to write yow. Allbeit the enterprise ys of great importance, and the sonner it is put in [hand,] ewre [ever ?] the more honnor and proffyt it wolle be to the Quene's Majestie and the Realme; for doughtless, this will raysse the exchange to xxvj*s.* viij*d.* at the least. As knowythe the Lorde, whoe presserve yow wythe increas of honnor.—From Andwerpe the viijth of July, 1560.

At your honnor's commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM."[3]

"To the Right honnorable Sir Thomas Pary, knyght, Treassorer of the Quene's Majestie's most honnorable Howsholde."

Inclosed in the preceding letter was the following, which is equally intelligible; and of which it needs only to be stated that, though undated and without superscription, it was obviously addressed in June or July, 1560, to Sir Thomas Gresham: having been penned probably at Antwerp,—though the writer, as we shall see, was a native of Germany.

"Mr. Gresham,

"It may like you to understand that we have commodity to refyne, everye mounthe, threscore thousande pounds wayght (of xii onces the lb.) of suche baysse monney as ys now corrant in Ingland, off 3 or 4 or 6 onces fyne, in xij onces. Iffe the Quene's Majestie woolde retourne suche money unto fyne money off xi onces, or there abought, we whold bynde us to make yt also; and deliver every weke, the some of the silver that we shall weekely receyve of her Majestie's deputies: and to take only, for our rewarde, for all costes

[3] Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

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and charges belonging to it, for every xij onz. fine, iij qter of a onz.; and the copper that maye be savid in yt.

"And also, to provyd, ourselfes, the stoffe belonginge to the refyninge, without anny discommodity offe the Realme: whiche woolde be a great charge for us. Thearefore, before wey entre into suche enterpries, wey desier to knowe yffe her Majestie woll asseure us of all the quantity of the said money [she intends] to cause to be delivered unto us at London, to refyne. And without [such] assurance, yt ys uneacceptable to undirtacke suche chargis opon us.

"And because that some silver muste remayne in the the coper in refynynge, and not be tacken out; then, in our countrey (in Germanye) we woll and must have licens to bringe suche coper out of Yngland into Germany, and there to doo withall as shall thincke us for our most proffyt. And suche silver as shall remayne in the copper, and in waste, we woll take in partye of payment of oure reward: at [such] a prise as yt ys worthe in generall: and the rest, for our reward every weeke or mounth, in redy mony. Iff here Majestie ys mynded to intend too suche worcke, and desiers more partycularity, we are content to send one of us into Ingland for to declarre yt more at large: better by mouth, as [than] maye be doen with the penne.

"Touchinge of Bastian Solcher, wyche ys with Sir John Yorcke, hy ys the man that haythe comysion of us to move this matter to the counseyll: but [he] hayth not comodity offe the provysion, nor ys of the abillity, nor hayth any bollen to delyver,—as moche as we knowe offe hym; but he ys a man very sckylfull and practicke to suche matter. And as for our parte, your worshipe dothe knowe well anoythe [enough] that we are men of performans, and to be trosted to suche worcke: and yffe nead should requyre, we can put suertyes for the full doynges off this enterprys.

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"Heireopon, your mastershipe [may] pleasse to wryt the effect of this mattir to here Majestie, and to let us knowe here intencion as sonne as ys possible; for our frynd haythe othir thinges in handes.

DANIEL VLSTAT AND COMPA."[1]

Such was the proposal of Wolstat, and such the despatches of which he was made the bearer. It may be interesting to a future Rogers Ruding to be informed of the names of Wolstat's partners,—the members of the 'company' who, with him, undertook and executed the gigantic task of reforming the debased coinage of England. These men were,—"Jasper Seeler, Christopher Ansell, John Lover, and Sebastian Spaydell, almaignes;" and a curious letter is extant, from Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Gresham, dated the 4th of November following, wherein she certifies him "of a bargen made with these strangers for the refyning of base monies;" "and forasmuch as they stood bounde to produce sufficient suerties for the sum of 30,000*l.*, both of Englishmen and strangers, for the performance of their covenants; and had, among other Englishmen, made choice of Gresham to be their suerty for 4000*l.*; in case he condescended to become bound for them, in such sort as by a copy of a band [bond] sent herewith, should appear unto him,—that then he was to cause the said band to be engrossed: and to seale, subscribe, and deliver the same to the hands of the governor [of the Company of Merchant-Adventurers]." Gresham was further requested to solicit the Fuggers—a German family, celebrated in the commercial and literary annals of Europe,—to do the like.[4]

The date of Alen's letter, quoted above, was the 3rd of September. On the 27th, the value of base coins was reduced by royal proclamation; and on the 29th was pub-

[4] Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

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lished, in quarto, a black letter "Summary of certain reasons which have moved Queen Elizabeth to proceed in reformations of her base and coarse Monies, and to reduce them to their values, in sort as they may be turned to fine Monies." J. W. B.

Brunswick-square, May, 1839.

V.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STANDARD OF VALUE AND THE CIRCULATING MEDIUM OF THIS COUNTRY.

By William Debonaire Haggard, F.S.A, F.R.A.S.

The greater part of the following observations have been communicated in letters to friends at different periods, and more particularly in those times when the writer had reason to believe, that he saw the shadows of forthcoming events, that would disturb our monetary system.

This, it is hoped, will be sufficient excuse for the want of arrangement, and for the familiarity of the style.

I have for some years been anxiously looking forward to the time when the currency question might occupy the attention of this great nation, and when the evil of our present system should be so evident, that few would be found to raise objection to a fair enquiry on the subject. Many persons conscientiously believe that there may be danger in changing our metallic currency, or, as the term goes, "tampering with it." But it may be asked, What foundation have they for this fear? Do they think that their property would be risked by the change; or does it arise from a want of knowledge on a subject so abstruse as that of our circulating medium? If the former, how deceived they are; for the present system puts in jeopardy the whole

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wealth of the nation, by its secret working. If the latter, it is hoped that it will not be thought presumptuous to offer a few observations, which I trust will be received favourably. I may assert, with truth, that these observations are given with the best intention. I have avoided censuring any one; being willing to suppose, that whatever evil may have arisen from an erroneous system, it might, under peculiar circumstances, appear at the time it was adopted, not so mischievous as the working has proved it to be; and I likewise think, that error in judgment should not be construed into a premeditated act of injustice. I am led to make these latter remarks by having read, in some publications, very harsh language used towards individuals who thought otherwise. I am aware that the currency question is one of vital importance, and would require calm judgment, and judicious treatment, in any change made towards an improvement.

Observations.

Perhaps there is no term more familiar to the generality of persons than "Standard of Value," yet few take the trouble to enquire as to its real meaning and intent. But the wisdom of fixing it on a proper basis may be estimated, when its utility and importance are explained.

I shall briefly state, that the present standard of value of this country is represented by an ounce of gold, containing 440 grains of fine gold and 40 grains of copper, and coined into sovereigns at a rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10$d\frac{1}{2}$. per ounce, which are made legal tenders to any amouut.

I prefer giving my idea of the use of a standard of value in silver, as I believe the change which took place in the year 1774 from the silver standard to the gold one, to have been the means of producing great evil to the country; nor ought we to have departed from the ancient use of that metal as all other nations found their standard upon it.

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The use and intent of a standard of value, agreeable to my idea, is thus explained:—The metal to be used for coinage has a fixed quality, called "Standard," containing eighteen pennyweights twelve grains of fine silver, and one pennyweight twelve grains of alloy, making together one ounce of metal, which, in the bullion market, may be worth five shillings: this ounce, by the royal prerogative, is at present converted into coin, at the nominal rate of five shillings and sixpence the ounce, or sixty-six shillings are cut out of the pound Troy.[1] These coins are then to be considered the standard of value, or, more properly speaking, the coins to be used as legal tenders. It will be shown that this arrangement has reference to a threefold purpose. First, the fixed standard quality enables the foreigner to calculate the par of exchange between two countries, or more simply to compare the quantity of fine silver contained in their respective coins: thus, if twenty shillings contain $1614\frac{54}{100}$ grains of fine silver: $23\frac{58}{100}$ franc pieces contain the same quantity of fine silver, making the par of exchange between France and England $23\frac{58}{100}$. The French merchant has no farther interest in our standard, than the knowledge of the quality of the metal in a given weight. In the second place, the market price of standard silver being five shillings the ounce, and the coining rate (as I have before proposed) five shillings and two pence the ounce, there would accrue a seignorage of nearly four per cent. by the conversion, which would pay for the expense of coinage, and allow a profit to the Government. This seignorage would likewise have the effect of keeping the coins in circulation amongst the

[1] I should recommend that sixty-two shillings should be cut out of the pound Troy, for ten per cent. is too large a seignorage; we should then return to the standard which was in use in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

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people for the convenience of home trade (indeed their only legitimate use), the higher nominal value of the coin not allowing them to be exported for the sake of profit. In the third place, the standard coin, or its representative, is used as a means for settling all accounts between ourselves, at such a fixed rate as when tendered shall be considered in law as paid in full. It may well be supposed that disputes would arise between debtor and creditor, if there were no arbritary rate in which accounts should be considered as settled. Let us suppose a case without this nominal standard of value. A, having a sum to pay to B, would not know what B would require of him. A says to B, I have come to settle my account, and I have brought silver with me; B answers, I do not want silver, give me gold. A retorts, I have no gold, you must take my silver, at five shillings the ounce; again B replies, silver is only worth four shillings and elevenpence the ounce: and so they would go on in dispute, till at last, by mutual consent, they would fix some standard of value for their own convenience. And here again we may remark upon the little regard the foreigner has for our standard coin, for we cannot compel him to settle accounts at their nominal value; he receives them only in payment at such rates as the exchanges may govern. This leads me to notice the advantage which the country gains by using *bullion* as an article of commerce, instead of coin; for if the merchant can procure bar-gold at the mint price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* the ounce, he has for certain 440 grains of fine gold, for which France will allow a certain number of francs; but if the merchant is compelled to send sovereigns nominally worth 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* the ounce, but actually not containing 440 grains of fine gold, either by being deficient in weight or quality, then France will allow so much less in francs as will meet the depreciation;

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and as one or the other governs the rate of exchange, it follows that every bill of exchange is affected by it. Therefore we should not convert bullion into coin, without the actual want of the coin for home circulation.

The common consent of all the world has fixed upon the precious metals as the representative of all commodities, so that any discrepancies in commerce may be rectified by them at such rates as the demand and supply may govern. In England alone is this advantage lost sight of, by *fixing* a price for the purchase and sale of gold, both without limitation. Let us now see how these fixed prices appear to work, in a more familiar shape:—Suppose A to agree to purchase wheat at 1*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* per quarter, in any quantity and at all times, without reference to demand and supply; and compelled to sell the same in any quantity, and at all times, at 2*l.* per quarter, must not A of necessity be a victim in both cases? While wheat could be grown or imported at a less price than 1*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* per quarter, A would be overwhelmed with an article for which he had no demand. Again, as soon as the price of wheat exceeded that of 2*l.* per quarter, he would, with equal certainty, be called upon to supply the article, and perhaps a demand made for a quantity beyond his ability to meet, and for the sake only of profit to individuals. These fixed prices make us the store-keepers of gold for all the world. There are other causes which disturb our monetary system in the present day, besides the balance of trade being against us, such as foreign loans, stocks, shares, &c., which are used as a means of speculation by great capitalists; to which may be added the occasional demand for the support of credit in other countries.

These facts, and their consequences, lead me to revert to the preferred silver standard; and, quoting the opinions of

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men of sound judgment as a corroborative of my idea on this subject, Mr. Huskisson, in a speech on the panic of 1825, said, "that the history of France proved the value of a steady and unchanging currency." Does not this steadiness then arise from their having a silver standard? For my part, I have no doubt whatever on the subject: for I know that no large quantity of five franc pieces have at any time come to this country. Can we say as much for the stability of our gold standard? Have not millions and millions of our gold *coins* been sent abroad, solely for the sake of profit to the exporter?

Coins and bullion have their separate uses: by keeping this in view, the mind may be relieved of much confusion. Coins are, or ought to be, struck solely for home circulation; and the stamp they bear gives to the possessors, when of full weight, the certainty of having so many grains of fine gold, or fine silver, in each.* These coins would rarely be withdrawn from their legitimate use if silver was the standard, and gold had no fixed price. The merchants (who invariably prefer it) would purchase bullion for exportation; for if gold in the market should reach 4*l.* the ounce, and the sovereign be allowed to meet that price, say 1*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*, there would be no inducement to send the coin away. But the present system of allowing individuals the privilege of coining at the Mint, without reference to the want of the coin for circulation, is unjust to the Bank, expensive to the country, and injurious to the merchant; for this operation only takes place when the precious metals are abundant, and afford a profit by the conversion.

* Our metallic currency might be maintained in a wholesome state, that is, up to its weight, by creating a fund from a seignorage, for the purpose of paying the loss on the recoinage of the worn money.

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Thus these important interests are sacrificed for the benefit of a few.

Bullion is sent to the Mint for coinage when the price of bullion is below that of the Mint, the sovereigns are brought to the Bank, and exchanged for notes, which notes are employed in the purchase of other bullion, for the purpose of further coinage, and again brought to the Bank, till at last their coffers overflow with a depreciated article for commercial purposes, and a too abundant stock for home use.

In a return made in February 1825, the stock of gold coin in deposit is stated at 7,285,000*l.*, while the bullion was only 1,572,000*l.* Unfortunately, this year a large demand was made for the precious metals for international purposes. One individual exported between six and seven millions, which consequently took the greater part of the stock of sovereigns. It is possible, if there had been 7,285,000*l.* in bullion, that large sum might have gone quietly away as an article of commerce; and the panic which took place in the December following, might have been modified. Whenever any considerable demand for gold takes place, and particularly coin, the public become alarmed, and hoard the sovereigns, thus diminishing the useful portion of the circulation, and which can only be replaced by fresh calls upon the Bank, thereby decreasing the deposit, and adding to the people's fears.

I think I am justified in asserting that no apprehension need be felt by a run for cash on the part of the people, unconnected with foreign exports, provided there be a reasonable amount of cash in deposit; for though the public mind is soon alarmed yet it is soon appeased. I only know of one symptom of distrust on the part of the public: when the demand for gold coin beyond that required for

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circulation took place, May, 1831, it was met very judiciously and soon ceased. Professor Playfair, in his view of the "money system of England," says, in allusion to the run for gold in 1793, "In the months of March, April, and May, a demand for guineas arose in this manner: they had been worth twenty-seven livres in silver, or 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* in Paris. The Bank, alarmed at the demand, which would have drained all the guineas, diminished the circulation of its notes. No sooner did the Bank of England contract its issues, than the private bankers were constrained to follow its example; and the distress and injury to credit caused by the withdrawal of accommodation and the curtailment of the currency, aided by the bad harvest of 1795, and the war expenditure, produced such general distrust, that early in the year 1797, the bank informed the minister of its inability much longer to meet the increasing demand upon it for gold. Universal bankruptcy and total extinction of credit must have ensued, but for the prompt and decisive resolution taken by Mr. Pitt.

The famous orders in council were issued, and were succeeded by the Bank Restriction Act, which by its effect controlled the destiny of Europe; and is likely at last to sink England herself under the magnitude of the debt which it created. What followed this bold measure is too familiar to require detail: a simple remark is all that need be added; had the ancient standard not been altered in 1774, and had the Bank been liable only to be called upon for payment in silver, or if, with Mr. Locke, no mint price were affixed to gold, so that the Bank might have rated guineas in exchange for its notes, at the current price of bullion, the same as they would be willing to take them in payment, no run would ever have taken place, because the inducement

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to it would not have existed, and consequently no restriction would have been necessary. Nevertheless, in the teeth of experience and with all those facts as guides, on the new coinage, in 1816 and 1817, the silver was once more depreciated below the standard of Elizabeth, and, by an Act of that year, made legal tender only to the amount of forty shillings; and this is called a return to the sound currency of our ancestors. The first war in which Great Britain shall be engaged, nay, the first disturbance that occurs between any of the great Continental powers, will immediately be followed by another "Bank Restriction Act."

But without either of these great events there is a restriction at all times, to the extent of the difference between the bullion in deposit at the Bank of England and the amount of the paper issues of the *kingdom*, as may be seen by the following return made in the year 1835:—

RETURN 1835.

Bank of England Paper Issues.....		£17,262,000
,, ,, Deposits		19,169,000
		36,431,000
Private Bank Issue	£8,334,860	
Joint Stock ditto.....	2,799,550	
		£11,134,410
		£47,565,410
Return of Bullion in deposit.....		6,000,000
Cash restriction		£41,565,410

This large restriction may be thus accounted for:—Bank notes being legal tenders, give the privilege to all private and joint stock banks, of founding their issues on those of

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the Bank, and relieve them from the charge of holding any quantity of bullion in deposit above what is wanted for mere change; and thus the onus is thrown on the Bank of England alone, for the support of the whole paper circulation; and bank stock and other securities go for nothing, as a demand upon them for gold, to the amount only of 10*l.* more than they have in deposit, will cause immediate stoppage, and, consequently, fearful distrust and ruin.

Mr. Harris, who was formerly in the Royal Mint, has stated his valuable opinion on the subject of gold coins as follows: "Rates on gold coins are not to be fixed arbitrarily, but are to be regulated by the price which gold then bears to silver as a standard. These rates are, and always have been considered as subject to this rule, and also to be altered again and again whenever the case may so require. Under this limitation, it is very convenient that gold coins should pass as, or instead of, money, but as not being themselves money, or the standard measure of the value of all other things. It is a fundamental characteristic of money, that, as a measure, it continues invariable; that is, that a payment in the standard coins of any specific sum agreed upon, is, whenever made, a full discharge of that contract, without regarding at all how silver may have varied in its value with respect to commodities in general, by an increase and decrease of its quantity. But gold coins are to be considered in another view: payments in them may not be for quantity. It is by the rates only which gold coins bear in respect to silver as a standard at the time of payment that contracts are discharged, and not according to the rates which these coins might have at the time when the contracts were made. In this view only gold coins are to be considered; and in this view they are upon a footing with any other commodity, though less liable to a sudden

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and great change in their value than most other things."

Lord Lauderdale entered a protest on the journals of the House of Lords against Lord Liverpool's notion of making gold a standard of value; and wisely; for the immense absorption which the home circulation requires, must lessen the means of meeting the discrepancies of commerce. Gold, from its small bulk and great value (giving facility in transmission), makes it a very desirable article for international purposes, and therefore is wanted here, there, and every where; and no country can monopolise it without making at times a great sacrifice. To maintain our gold standard, a sacrifice is frequently made by us when gold is temporarily withdrawn from the bank deposit for commercial, political, or stock transactions by the necessity of suddenly contracting the paper issues. This sudden contraction may be accounted for by stating an interesting fact, viz. that the purchase and sale of gold (as to time) is as ninety-eight to eighteen; or, plainly, a certain quantity of gold which is accumulated by importation during a period of ninety-eight months, is withdrawn in the space of eighteen months, thus giving a long period of easy circulation and confidence followed by a sudden restriction of accommodation.

Besides, gold is too expensive to use for home circulation; for this purpose it is a dead weight, and prevents the expansion of the commerce of the country; we feel great inconvenience when it is withdrawn from the deposit for its legitimate purpose, that of inter-national exchange, and we are left without a representative. It is the want of this representative that causes all the distress consequent on a panic, and not the want of gold. Should the Bank be drained to their last sovereign, and compelled to stop pay-

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ment, there would be no want of gold in the country, for thirty or forty millions would remain absorbed in hoards and in circulation; but as to its application to the purpose of saving the country from a national bankruptcy, it might as well have been thrown over London Bridge.

I believe a great mistake was made, on the return to cash payments, of forcing at all times a metallic circulation on the people. Our large debt having been contracted for in paper under a cash restriction, there must be consequently great difficulty in maintaining our credit on a more limited basis. I am of opinion, that it would be wise for so powerful an engine as the Bank of England to have a safety valve, to relieve it from the effects of too great a pressure under the gold standard. Perhaps, if the following system were judiciously put into practice, the circulation might remain more steady, and not be subject to so many mischievous fluctuations. We may suppose thirty-five millions to be about the amount of cash in circulation, and that eight millions are in deposit at the Bank. The thirty-five millions are seldom diminished by exportation, the demand being always made upon the deposit; and, however alarmingly this may be lessened, we do not meet the demand, as in other cases, by raising the price of the commodity, for our gold is unalterably fixed: but to the system proposed.

System.

In the first place, let us consider the cash in circulation as a deposit, which might be increased or decreased as the foreign exchanges fluctuate, either for or against us, and the action upon it to be governed by the increase or decrease of the bank deposit. When the eight millions in deposit are lessened to such an extent as may excite alarm,

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permit the Bank to offer one pound notes in payment,[3] instead of sovereigns, which the public would readily receive, as they are more convenient. I think the issue of these notes might go on without danger, until such a quantity of gold should be withdrawn from the circulation into the deposit, as may afford the desired confidence. I should suppose it would rarely happen that more than five millions would be taken from the thirty-five millions in circulation. Again, when the precious metals are imported, and the deposit of bullion much increased, issue sovereigns, and gradually withdraw the one pound notes from circulation; the Bank would find it to be their interest so to do, as it would relieve them of part of their dead weight of bullion. Under our present system, this is of the utmost importance to the country, whether the amount of bullion in the Bank deposit be either eight millions or one million; but it is of no consequence to the public whether they have thirty-five millions or one million in circulation, provided they have a representative to carry on their trade with. If the eight millions be totally withdrawn from the Bank, a national bankruptcy in consequence takes place; but if the whole thirty-five millions were taken from the public, and placed in the Bank, they would not be subject to any loss or inconvenience, provided they had a substitute, payable in cash on demand. I wish it to be understood, that I am an advocate for a silver standard; for I believe it would do all that is required to free the gold: but as many object to

[3] It would be a great preventive to forgery, if these one pound notes were not to be made legal tenders, so that a shopkeeper might have the option of refusing to take them from strangers. There would be no necessity for forcing such notes into circulation, as they would only be required for a very limited period, and to a small amount.

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this change, perhaps the above suggestions may assist in meeting the dangers which so frequently surround us.

Gold should be as free as air, for it is the life-blood of commerce. It has the principle of water; it will find its level, and they who attempt to impede its progress will find they fight against a torrent: "An act of Parliament is a very weak weapon to oppose against self-interest." The accumulation of gold in a country is no proof of an increasing wealth arising from barter, as an example will show. In this country, three yards of cloth may be equal to three pounds of tea, or 21*s.* in cash; three yards of cloth in China may equal five pounds of tea, or 21*s.* in cash, for we have more cloth, and they have more tea, and cash is pretty well equal. If I have five pounds of tea returned to me, it is evident a profit arises on the barter, but if 21*s.* are returned, I had better not have sent the cloth, as I am minus freight and charges. The precious metals are seldom considered as a profitable remittance to a commercial country. Silver being the produce of South America, gives to that country a valuable consideration; but the country where the silver is sent may either gain or lose.

The free exportation of gold and silver was taken into consideration in the year 1660, and a council of trade then held, gave their opinions as follow:—

"If upon the balance, money is to be exported, the strictest laws (as by experience of all ages appeareth) cannot stop it, supposing it were of absolute necessity to restrain all money and bullion once imported to be kept within the kingdom: it then came under consideration, whether the laws hitherto made in that behalf are, or that it be possible to make a law, adequate to prevent the exportation thereof. We then enquired, what loadstone attracted this metal by force of nature to itself, against all

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human providence or prevention; and soon found that it was alone the present course of trade and traffic throughout the world, and quite altered from that in former ages, when those statutes were made; which hath converted all action into the commodities which the earth and sea produce, is in continual circumrotation, embraceth all things, and hath enforced at last money (which in former times was only used as the measure to value all commodities by) to become now itself to be a commodity, subject to rising and falling in price and value as any other merchandize, and to be the only employment of thousands of merchants, that deal in nothing else. There are some trades that, in fact, or in the whole, cannot be driven, or managed, to any profit or proportion of advantage with our neighbours, but by exporting money or bullion, either together with their merchandize, or wholly a merchandize or commodity itself."

Many facts might be stated to show the mischief and inutility of fixing a price on gold, but two I think will suffice. "In the early part of the reign of William the Third, the silver coins were very defective, wanting, by clipping, &c., nearly one-half of their weight. The guineas passed in currency at this time for thirty shillings each, being a much higher value than the price of bullion would justify: the consequence was, that all the silver bullion in the kingdom that could be collected, instead of being brought to the Mint, was exported for gold bullion, in which foreigners made their payments to their own advantage, and to the great detriment of the merchants and manufacturers of this country. A new silver coinage was therefore begun in this reign, on the plan principally of Mr. Locke. The Chancellor of the Exchequer called to his assistance Sir Isaac Newton (whom he appointed Warden of the Mint), and Dr. Halley. The quantity of silver

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coins made on the accession of William III. amounted to 6,812,908*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*, of which the greater part was coined at the Tower, the rest at the country mints established for that purpose. Four years were employed for the completion of this re-coinage: the whole of the charges and losses have been estimated at not less than 2,700,000*l.* After this re-coinage, in 1669, it so happened that the gold coin was rated too high compared with the relative value of gold and silver in the market: the consequence was, as on former occasions of the like nature, the new silver coins were melted down and exported, and in the course of eighteen years, nearly the whole amount of silver re-coined disappeared, and scarcely any silver bullion was brought to the mint to be coined. In this state were the silver coins of this kingdom in the year 1717, when the ministers of George the First, alarmed at the great diminution of the silver coins, took the subject into consideration. They applied to Sir Isaac Newton, then Master of the Mint, for his advice. He reported, that the principal cause of the exportation of the silver coin was, that a guinea, that then passed for twenty-one shillings and sixpence, by common consent, was generally worth no more than twenty shillings and eightpence, according to the relative value of gold and silver in the market. He then suggested, that sixpence should be taken off the guinea, in order to diminish the temptation to export and melt down the silver coin. Soon after, the guinea was lowered, by proclamation, to twenty-one shillings. By this measure, which gave, in effect, the legal value of twenty-one shillings to a piece originally intended to be current at twenty shillings, the guinea, being yet at a higher value compared with silver coins, by fourpence, than it ought to have been, and those who had any payments to make, preferring to discharge their debts in that coin which

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is over-rated, all considerable payments since [up to the time Lord Liverpool wrote] have been made in gold coin; and the silver coins have generally served only in making small payments, or in exchange for the fractional parts of the gold coins." What trouble, expense, and inconvenience might have been saved had silver been the standard of value, and gold left to find its own value with reference to silver in the market. Here it is plainly shewn, that however just the proportions may appear at a given time between gold and silver, there are circumstances which continually alter that proportion, and a greater demand made for one metal than the other will alter its value. It is generally thought desirable, by those unacquainted with the nature of the bullion business, that gold in bars should have fixed quality, the same as the coin; but this is a mistaken notion, for the process is attended with expense, and without the least advantage; for in bullion, when used as an article of commerce, the various qualities of the bars suit different markets; some countries having coins finer than our standard, others coarser. It was not even necessary, in Mr. David Ricardo's plan, to have the bars made of standard quality; for if any large quantity had been sold, it probably would have been for exportation. Mr. Ricardo's plan, 59th Geo. 3, cap. 49, the particulars of which I mean to give, was the second instance of the inutility and probable mischief of fixing a price on gold.

PLAN.

"Between the 1st of February and 1st of October, 1820, the Bank shall pay in standard gold, for notes tendered to an amount not less than the value calculated, after the rate of eighty-one shillings per ounce.

"Between October the 1st 1820, and May the 1st, 1821,

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such payments shall be paid in gold calculated after the rate of seventy-nine shillings and sixpence per ounce.

"Between May the 1st, 1821, and May the 1st, 1823, such payment shall be paid in gold, calculated after the rate of seventy seven shillings and tenpence halfpenny per ounce.

"But the bank may, between February 1st and October 1st, 1820, make payment at any rate less than 4*l.* 1*s.*, and not less than 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per ounce.

"Between October 1st, 1820, and May, 1st 1821, it may pay at a rate less than 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* and not less than 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* on giving three days' notice in the gazette, such payments to be made in ingots or bars of sixty ounces; fractional sums of less than forty shillings to be paid in silver. What could be the meaning of all this? Was it to facilitate trade by having gold and silver in circulation, and yet have gold bars of the value of 250*l.* and silver payable to the amount only of forty shillings? If meant to be used as an article of commerce, it must be either mischievous or nugatory: mischievous, if the price of gold abroad rose above that fixed; and nugatory, if the price remained below; but the following particulars will prove the inutility, and I might venture to say, the absurdity of the plan. There were stamped at the Mint 2,028 ingots, which the act states should be 60-ounce bars; but not one of the number was precisely that weight.

"There were sold 13 ingots—most likely as articles of curiosity—as follows:—

		£	*s.*	*d.*	
3 ingots in the month of	Feb. 1820, at ..	4	1	0	per oz.
3 ingots	Oct. 1820	3	19	6	—
7 ingots	May 1821	3	17	10½	—

One of the ingots, which was bought in the month of May, 1821, at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce, was brought to the Bank,

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in May, 1826, and sold at 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per ounce, by the same person who bought it; this ingot is now in the Bank, the remaining twelve that were sold have all been remelted, and 2,015 ingots were returned to the Mint and coined into sovereigns, which accounts for the whole 2,028 ingots. This is the result of a measure which, at the time it was recommended, was thought to be the most wise and efficacious plan to adopt for preparing the way to cash payments."

Many more valuable quotations might be given in favour of a silver standard, and allowing gold to find its value in the market; but perhaps enough has been said to draw the attention of persons qualified to form a judgment on a subject of such vital importance to the country. For my own part, I am convinced, that if the gold standard is persisted in, that one of these days we shall be placed in the anomalous situation of a national bankruptcy, at the same time that we have a very large quantity of gold in the country.

VI.

UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF AETHELSTAN, AND HALF-PENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

SIR,

AMONGST the Anglo-Saxon coins which have lately come into my possession, two very curious and interesting ones having occurred, which appear to me worthy of the notice of you and your learned readers, I send you an account of them, together with drawings.

The first is a coin of Aethelstan, which I procured from a travelling dealer in old silver, together with some other coins, one of them a common coin, belonging to the same prince: it bears the king's head on one side, and the legend

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AÐELSTAN · REX. The reverse differs from that of the other coins which bear the same obverse, in having four pellets in the field, one opposite each angle of the cross: the legend is HVN · ÐAR · MO · ROF · ÐIVIT, and neither the type, money, or mint have, I believe, hitherto occurred. Rochester is one of the towns where, it appears from the laws of Aethelstan, that that prince had a mint and three moneyers; but hitherto no specimen of it has appeared. It is in very fine preservation, and weighs twenty-four grains, and was found somewhere in the south-west of Ireland; but where I could not learn.

The other coin, which I have to introduce to your notice, is a halfpenny of the Confessor, the existence of which has been so frequently questioned. It bears, on the obverse, the king's head helmeted, and the legend EDPERD REX, and on the reverse a short double cross, similar to that on Nos. 36, 37, 38, Ruding; and a legend which seems to be SKVEÐA · OHVNT, read backwards, but with this reading I am not fully satisfied. It weighs scarcely nine grains, and could never have weighed more than ten.

The question whether these are halfpence of this king has been often discussed; and the occurrence of a number of his coins of the type and size of Nos. 36, 37, 38, of Ruding, which appear at first sight to be halfpence, seems to have contributed much to embarrass the subject: the weight of these coins, however, from twelve to eighteen grains, leaves no doubt but they are pennies; but the coinage of halfpence in this reign seems to have been proved by the discovery of the coin noticed in your Journal for May 1838, in a letter from Sir H. Ellis, as having been exhibited in 1743, by the Rev. Mr. North, to the Society of Antiquaries; and I have no doubt whatever—and my friend and brother numismatist, Mr. Sainthill, agrees with

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me in the opinion, that the coin I have now introduced to your notice is also a halfpenny of the same king. It is very thin, and altogether of different appearance from the small pennies of the Confessor, of which I have met with several amongst the coins found in the county Wexford; and its weight is still less than that of Mr. North. It was brought to me by a friend from London.

I remain, SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN LINDSAY.

VII.

MEDALS OF THE PRETENDER.

[SECOND SERIES.]

(Continued from Vol. I. p. 222.)

No. 8.—William, Prince of Orange, habited in the Roman costume, with one foot on a serpent, which seems to have been destroyed; in his right hand he holds a sword, and the left hand holds firmly the hand of a female representing Great Britain; she has on her head three crowns, behind her is an orange tree, entwined with the rose and thistle, and suspended upon it, are the arms of the United Kingdom; behind the Prince is seen the rising sun, and a little lower, Father Peters, running away with the young Prince, who carries a windmill. James II. runs by the side of Father Peters; the sacred fire burns between the Prince and Great Britain; round the upper half of the medal is this motto: DEO · VINDICE · IVSTITIA COMITE [Having God for support and Justice for Companion].

Rev.—In the distance are a number of ships approaching the shore, on which are landing troops from several boats; the Prince is seen at the head of some horsemen who are approaching a castle, on which a flag is flying. Round the

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upper part of the medal are the words CONTRA · INFANTEM · PERDITIONIS [Against the child of perdition]. In the Exergue, EXPEDITIO · NAUALIS PRO · LIBERTATE · ANGLIÆ. MDCLXXXVIII. [Naval Expedition for the Liberty of England. 1688].

There is a variety of this medal where Father Peters carries the Pix instead of the child.

These are on the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay.

No. 9.—Bust, to the right, with flowing hair and head laureated and full drapery, with this inscription: GVILLEL · III. D · G · PRINC · AVRA · RELI · LIBER · QVE. RESTI [William III. by the grace of God, Prince of Orange, Restorer of Religion and Liberty].

Rev.—In the centre, placed on a hill, is the ark of the covenant; on the left, England and Holland are represented on their knees, looking up to the clouds, over which is the word EMANUEL [God with us]. In the clouds is a warrior, who with a thunderbolt, strikes to the ground some French soldiers, and puts to flight a Jesuit who carries some emblems of Popery, and a bishop who carries a child in his arms, but whose mitre has fallen off his head.

This medal is said to have been struck, on the Prince's arrival at Salisbury.

No. 10.—The after-part of the yacht in which the Queen (of James the Second), the Prince of Wales and their suite, embarked, carrying the French colours. In an opposite direction is the Jesuit Peters, seated upon a lobster, holding in his arms the young Prince, who has a little windmill on his head; the Jesuit addresses the young Prince in the words, ALLONS · MON · PRINCE · NOUS SOMMES · EN · BON · CHEMIN [Come, my Prince, we are in the Right Way]. And in the exergue, JAC FRAN · EDWARD · SUPPOSEE · 20 · JVIN · 1688. [James Francis Edward, Supposititious, 20th June, 1688].

As many persons asserted that he was the son of a miller, we have the following:—

Rev.—On an escutcheon, surmounted by a Jesuit's cap, is represented a windmill, round which, in imitation of the order of the garter, are two strings of beads, at the bottom of which hangs a lobster; and the motto: HONI

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SOIT · QUI · NON · Y · PENSE [Evil be to him who thinks not of it]. And round the medal is this legend; LES · ARMES · ET · L · ORDRE · DU · PRETENDU PRINCE · DE · GALLES [The arms and the Order of the pretended Prince of Wales].

No. 10.—On the left, is a female representing Great Britain: splendidly dressed; at her side are her arms, surmounted by the royal crown; and behind, a pedestal, on which is a cap of liberty. She embraces and greets a warrior, who willingly advances to assist her. He bears a shield with the arms of the Prince of Orange on it, surrounded by the garter and the usual motto. Ships are seen sailing in the distance behind her. M · BRIT · EXP · NAV [Great Britain delivered]; and continued behind him, BAT · LIB REST · ASSERTA. [Re-established and strengthened by the Naval Expedition of the Dutch].

Rev.—On the top of an inaccessible rock is an eagle, having in her nest two young ones. She holds one in her beak, which she will not acknowledge as her own, but ejects it: another eagle which flies above the nest appears to be angry at this act. Round the medal is a border of roses and leaves; and these words EIICIT · INDIGNUM [He turns out the Unworthy].

No. 12.—Bust, to the right, of the King of France, with flowing hair, no drapery, with this legend: LVDOVICVS MAGNUS · REX [King Louis the Great].

Rev.—On the left is seen Father Peters, having in his arms the little Prince, who holds a windmill. He is going towards a ship which bears the French colours: following Father Peters is the Duke of Lauzun, with a broken sword; under their feet is a serpent in pieces; behind Father Peters and the Duke, is the Belgic Lion crowned, who seems to drive them away: in his left paw he holds a lance, on the top of which is the cap of liberty; in the right, he holds the labarum of the Christian Emperors. Round the top of the medal is this legend; AVT · REX · AVT NIHIL [Either King or Nothing].

No. 13.—Bust to the left crowned with laurel, hair flowing, slight drapery: beneath the bust is a small rose, with this legend; IACOBUS · II · D · G · BRITTANNIARUM IMPERATOR [James II., by the Grace of God, Sovereign of Great Britain].

Rev.—Represents the fable of the Fox who having her young ones carried away by an eagle, and, not being able to reach

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the nest, sets fire to the tree, and forces the eagle to retire. Round the medal is this legend; MAGNIS · INTERDUM PARVA · NOCENT · REGNO · ABDICATO · IN GALLIAM · APPULIT. Exergue, 4 IAN · 1689 · N · S. [Sometimes the Little are fatal to the Great. He arrived in France after having abandoned his kingdom, 4th Jan. 1689. New Style].

No. 14.—Bust, to the right, of Louis XIV. with flowing hair (no drapery), with this legend: LVDOVICVS · XIIII · REX CHRISTIANISSIMVS. I · MAVGER · F, [Louis XIV. Most Christian King].

Rev.—France, under the figure of a woman helmeted, welcomes King James II., his Queen, and the young Prince: on the right side are the French arms; on the left, those of England. Round the upper part of the medal is this legend; PERFVGIVM · REGIBVS [Asylum for Kings]. In the exergue, is this inscription; IAC · II · M BR · REX · CVM · REG · CONI · ET · PR · WALLIAE · IN · GALL · RECEPTVS · MDCLXXXIX. [James II. King of Great Britain, received in France, with the Queen his Wife and the Prince of Wales, 1689.]

No. 15.—Bust to the right; flowing hair, crowned with laurel, neck bare, with this legend, LVDOVICVS · MAGNVS R · CHRIST · F · P · SEMP · VICT. [Louis the Great, most Christian King, always victorious].

Rev.—A wreath of roses and pomegranates entwined by a band, on which are these letters, on different folds, LV · DO VI · CO · MAG · NO [Medal consecrated to]; and in the centre this inscription, OB · REGEM · REGINAM · ET PRINCIPEM · MAG · BRITANNIÆ · SERVATOS [The Glory of Louis the Great for having saved the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Great Britain].

No. 16.—Busts to the right of William and Mary, he laureated, and both with drapery, with the legend GVLIELMVS ET · MARIA · D · G · BRITANNORUM · REX · ET REGINA · F · D [William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Great Britain, Defenders of the Faith].

No. 17.—Another bust to the right of William and Mary, he laureated, but neither having drapery, with this legend, GVLIELM · R · MARIA · REGINA · F · D · P · A · I · S. William, King, Mary, Queen, Defenders of the Faith, Pious, August].

The following reverse on both medals:

Rev.—Upon a rock on the sea-shore is an eagle casting from her nest a young one. Near the rock are seen ships sailing;

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and on the opposite side are two pyramids; and above is a brilliant sun. Legend, NON · PATITVR · SVPPOSITITIOS [He will not allow the Supposititious to remain]; in the exergue is this inscription, IVRE · REGNI · VINDIC MDCLXXXIX [The Right of Succession maintained, 1689]

No. 18.—Busts to the right of William and Mary, he with flowing hair and crowned with laurel, breast covered with armour; she with hair dressed and slight drapery. Legend, GVLIELM · REX · MARIA · REGINA · F · D · P · A. [King William and Queen Mary, Defenders of the Faith, Pious August; under the busts, I · SMELTZING.]

No. 19.—Another. Bust to the right of King William, flowing hair and crowned with laurel; neck bare; a small rose under the bust; round the medal, GVLIELM · III · D · G. BRITTAN · R · RELIG · LIBERTATISQ · RESTITVT [William III. by the Grace of God, King of Britain, restorer of religion and liberty].

Rev.—(Which serves for both medals). In the centre is an orange tree, on which is fastened the arms of England; on the left, is King James II., running away: frightened by the lightning which comes from the orange tree, the crown is falling from his head, and he has thrown away the sceptre. On the right is Father Peters, equally alarmed at the lightning which surrounds him—he seems rather to skulk away; he has at his back the Pix, and in his right arm he holds the young Prince of Wales, who holds in his hand a windmill. Between two clouds, and over the tree, are these words: ITE · MISSA · EST. [Get away, the mass is over]. In the exergue is this inscription: INAUGURATIS · MAIESTATIBUS · EIECTO · PAPATV · EXPULSA · TYRANNIDE · BRITANNIA FELIX. 1689 [Great Britain, happy by the coronation of their Majesties, and by the expulsion of Papacy and tyranny. 1689].

No. 20.—Bust, to the left of Queen Mary, hair partly dressed with beads, and locks flowing over the shoulder, and this legend: MARIA · D · G · MAGN · BRIT · FRANC ET · HIB · REGINA. [Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—An eagle taking his flight towards the sun, he holds two young ones in his talons, but lets fall one, because it shut its eyes against the rays of the sun: legend: NON PATITVR · SVPPOSITITIOS [He will not suffer a supposititious one]. Exergue: EXCELLENTISSIMÆ PRINCIP · IUS · REGNI · VINDICATVM · EJECTO

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SVPPOSITITIO · MDCLXXXIX [The right of our most excellent Princess to the Crown, maintained by the expulsion of the supposed heir. 1689].

From No. 8 to No. 20, are struck on the flight of the Pretender from England, and his reception by Louis XIV; they are dated 1688 and 1689.

VIII.

ON THE COINS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

Sir,

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for September, 1835, there is a letter from my friend, Mr. Lindsay, on Mr. Hawkins' admirable paper respecting the William pennies found at Beaworth, a copy of which had only then just reached us "poor provincials;" and while Mr. L. concurred with much of Mr. H.'s arrangements, he dissented from that gentleman's opinion, that these pennies were a coinage of the conqueror; considering rather, that they were coined by Rufus. I entertain the same opinion, for reasons which Mr. L. inserted as the fifth paragraph of his letter. Towards the close of his letter Mr. L. mentioned another idea of mine, in these words: "A brother collector of mine has suggested to me, that this hoard most probably was either a part or a whole of the king's seignorage, from the different mints of one coinage; and that it would also indicate that the engravers were limited, in a great measure, to one type for the same period; from which circumstance another question may arise:—whether the dies were not engraved at the seat of government, at Winchester or London, and sent to the other different mints, leaving the local engravers, or moneyers, to insert their names and residences, by which they were made accountable to the king for the

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goodness of the coins. And, supposing this hoard was the king's seignorage, we may presume that the best struck and the weightiest coins would be selected by the moneyers for their own credit and safety."

This subject is recalled to my recollection by having been lent a volume of the Archæologia (vol. xviii. part 1, A.D. 1815), containing a paper by the late Taylor Coombe, Esq., respecting a hoard of 5700 pennies of Henry II., found at Tealby. Mr. Coombe writes, "These coins were as fresh as when they were first issued from the Mint; all of them having the same type, though minted in towns situated at a great distance from each other: the whole number consists of twenty-nine towns, of which twelve have been already published; seven others were known to exist in private collections, though not published, and ten are now added to the list for the first time." And on weighing 5127 of these pennies, previous to melting them, the deficiency on each coin was not one-fifteenth of a grain of its proper weight.

The circumstances of this hoard so entirely agree with those respecting the hoard at Beaworth, that I think they confirm my idea respecting it, and that the Tealby hoard formed also, in a similar manner, a part or the whole of the king's seignorage, collected, possibly, by an officer appointed for that purpose, who travelled to the different mints, and received the king's dues on the coinage. How otherwise can we account for coins from such a variety of mints, all fresh from the die, and which evidently had not been in circulation, and having no mixture of coins, English or foreign? In other hoards we have coins in every variety of condition as to wear, and every variety of type, period, and sovereign, domestic and foreign. At the same time, the relative proportions, as to the number of coins of the

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different mints in the Beaworth hoard, agrees with the relative importance of the places where they were coined; which I think is an additional reason for considering my conjecture correct, that the hoard was the king's seignorage, which would be larger or smaller, according to the quantity of money coined at the mint.

In the same volume of the Archæologia we have a subsequent paper of Mr. Coombe's, respecting 379 pennies of Canute, found at Halton Moor, near Lancaster, of which 366 were of the York mint, and the remaining 13 from seven distant mints. And of 690 pennies of Henry III., found at Bantry, which came under my observation, 235 were of the London mint, 222 of Canterbury, 83 of Dublin, and 27 with the legends "Rex Terci," and "Rex Ang." and defaced coins, leaving only 123 for eighteen other mints. Contrast these disproportionate numbers, as to the coins of the different mints, with the numbers in Mr. Hawkins' list, and I think that they prove that the Beaworth hoard had accumulated under some system: and if we could even get rid of that inference, by what doctrine of chances could we have brought together about 6000 coins in two instances, being specimens of every mint in the kingdom, many of which were previously unknown, not one of which had ever been in circulation?

In the hoard of Henry the Second's pennies, 5700 in number, they were all of one type; and in those of William (whether the Conqueror or Rufus), "about 6500" in number, there were only 91 not of the PAXS type.[1] From this I have inferred, that it seems probable that the type of the

[1] These ninety-one pennies may have been the king's seignorage, on coinages previous to the PAXS type, not accounted for until now, with the king's receiver. We may suppose that they were struck between his last and present round of collection.

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coins struck at the different mints was regulated by orders from the sovereign; and I further suggested the consideration, "whether the dies were not engraved at the seat of government?" Simon mentions that punches for dies were sent from the London mint to Dublin,[2] in the time of the Edwards: but I am myself more disposed to think, that the type for the time being having been determined by the proper authority, coins were struck, and sent to the different mints for them to copy, until further orders. And this will account for the general uniformity of design which we find in the coins of this period, though varying perhaps in the style of workmanship, and struck in mints remote from each other. Yet we find certain obverses attended uniformly with certain reverses, and a very close uniformity also in the sovereign's title. The first penny coined by the conqueror is considered, with great probability, to be that so like his predecessors, a profile bust looking to the right, with a sceptre, inscribed PILLEMVS REX; reverse, a cross fleurie pierced with an annulet. Of this type I have before me, DVNNIC ON AESTI; LEOFOLD N PININC (the O seems to have been forgotten); LININC ON PINCE; EADPARD ON LV, and ON SNOT. Here is variety of engravers and mints, but uniformity of design. Then we have the full-faced penny, with the two sceptres, inscribed PILLEM REX ANGL; reverse, a cross fleurie, with a cross pommé in saltier. I have before me, AELPINE ON LVNDV; SPOTINE ON EXCE; VLF ON LINC; and AELPI ON HEREFOR. Then another change to the canopy type,

[2] I suspect that the coins which we have of Edward, of Canterbury and London, with the triangle, and those of Dublin without the triangle, may have occurred from English obverses and reverses having been put into the Irish bag by mistake; as, even in these our days, letters for Cork sometimes first travel from London to York.

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inscribed PILLEMVS REX; reverse, a lozenge filled up, and fleurie. Of this I have only LEOFPOLD ON PINCE, but Mr. Ruding gives BRINTRED ON OXON, and Mr. Hawkins, EVSTMAER ON PIHRE. Now, even on this small field of observation, how will you account that the cross fleurie, pierced with an annulet, is never found as a reverse to the two sceptres, or the canopy obverses; or that PILLELM REX ANGL is never met as the king's title, with the profile head, or canopy, if the types and inscriptions had not been regulated and directed by the sovereign? And even with my very limited means of judging, it appears to me, that this was then a system that had been long established. I have two pennies of Cnut; their type is similar to Ruding, Pl. 22, No. 1; bust in profile, looking to the right, with a sceptre, both inscribed, behind the head CNV, and in front RECX; reverse, a cross pierced with a mullet—AELPINE ON ECX, and ELEFRTH ON NORTH. The abbreviation of the king's name, position of the letters, type, and reverse, the same at Exeter and Northampton. I have three Confessors, of York, Leicester, and Exeter: type, as to bust and reverse, and also inscription, precisely the same. And Mr. Lindsay lately procured twelve of this sovereign's coins, all unpublished, the particulars of which have appeared in your Journal; among which are four (LEOFPINE ON PELI; LEOFPINE ON EGEL; LEOFSTAN ON LVN; and ELFPINE ON ECXEC); reverse, a small cross in the centre of the field, all precisely the same in the design of the bust; a radiated crown, and inscription round it, with one letter variation in the Exeter. The recurrence of REX ANGLOR on the sovereign pennies of the Confessor, looks also as the result of system. I do not think I am justified in trespassing further on your space; but I submit these remarks to those of your readers who have greater information, and more

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extensive means of testing their correctness; and hoping they may turn their attention to the subject,

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Cork, 10*th June*, 1839. R. S.

IX.

ON THE COINS OF EAST ANGLIA.

Sir,

The arrangement of Saxon coins, I am convinced, has not yet received that accurate attention at the hands of English Antiquaries, which is due to every branch of antiquities tending to illustrate the history of our own country. I will trouble you with a few remarks in support of this observation :—

From the date of the murder of the East Anglian King, Ethelbert, by Offa, A.D. 793, till the accession of Edmund in 855, we have no names of the Sovereigns of this kingdom recorded in history; yet, from various passages in ancient chronicles, we gather, that the East Anglians were incessantly revolting against the power of Mercia, occasionally placing themselves under the protection of the West Saxon Kings; and, in one instance, we find a King of Mercia falling a victim to the success of their arms. On their coins, however, the names of a few of their kings have been preserved. Several pennies bearing the name of a Prince called *Aethleweard*, resembling, in the exact correspondence of type, shape of letters, names of moneyers, and similarity of execution, the money of Edmund, were long misappropriated to *Aethelheard* of Wessex, but were removed to their proper situation by Dr. Combe. If any pieces of the East Anglian money during the interval of

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sixty years above-mentioned had come down to us, from the connexion of East Anglia with Mercia and Wessex, we might naturally expect them to bear some resemblance to the coins of one or both those kingdoms. Such are those which I come now to examine. Two pennies in Ruding's fourth plate, with legends, EADVALDREX on the obverse, and on the reverse of one EADNOÐ, on the other HINTREb, and placed at the head of the Mercia series, and assigned, but erroneously, as the following remarks will shew, to *Athelbald*, who became King of Mercia in 716, and died 755.

I. Both the coins read EADVALD, and are appropriated to a king, who, in the Saxon chronicles, and in authentic charters, is *uniformly* called *Athelbald* or *Ethelbald*. The great difference between these names and *Eadwald*, is such as cannot be accounted for, even by the often alleged plea of the incorrectness of Saxon orthography. It is, I conceive, sufficient of itself, were other reasons wanting, to venture the appropriation of these coins to the predecessor of Offa.

II. The only connection of these coins with the Mercia kingdom, seems founded on their resemblance to various pieces of Offa's money, which have uniformly the letter ꝏ for *Merciorum*. On the pennies of Eadvald, we remark that it is altogether omitted.

III. Again, Offa's reign was prolonged to the extent of forty years; and it is reasonable to suppose that those of his moneyers whose names appear on the coins of his successor, Coenwulf, and on those of Egbert, could scarcely have worked for him at the beginning of his reign, or for his predecessor Athelbald; and that such of his coins as bear a strong resemblance to those of Coenwulf, belong to a period immediately antecedent to that monarch's accession.

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Hence it is that we are referred to an examination of the coins themselves, Ruding, Plate IV. No. 1. This coin has on the obverse the king's name in three lines, EADVALD REX, and on the reverse the moneyer's name, EADNOÐ. This name, indeed, I do not find among the moneyers of any king till Ludica, and Beornwulf (and it can hardly be the same person), but the type of the piece on which it appears, belongs equally to Offa and Coenwulf. In Sir Andrew Fountaines's ninth table, No. 8 of Offa exactly resembles the coin under consideration, as does that of Coenwulf, No. 18, Plate VI. of Ruding, except that in the obverse of the latter we have the bust of Coenwulf, both presenting the name of the same moneyer, LVL. Ruding, Plate IV. fig. 2; here we have the name of a moneyer, HINTREƀ, of frequent occurrence, in the money of Offa and Coenwulf, and a type no less common to both.

I think it then not unreasonable to place the date of these coins near the commencement of the reign of Coenwulf. I shall recur to them shortly.

There is another piece which I shall venture to remove from its present situation; and I do so with the more confidence, as, from Mr. Hawkins' silence respecting it in his list of the kings of Northumberland, of whom coins are extant, I infer that its appropriation to Eanred of Northumberland was not satisfactory to him. It is a silver penny, unique, I believe, and figured in Ruding's 27th plate. An examination of this piece and comparison with others, will enable us to form a more correct estimate of its origin. First, then, the name of the moneyer is ÐES. Now if it had really belonged to the Northumbrian kingdom, we might expect to find the name of this moneyer among the 2000 stycas of Eanred, found at Hexham; but neither in

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that hoard, nor among the stycas discovered at Kirk Oswald, in 1808, was any coin found thus inscribed (indeed the name does not appear on the money of any Saxon king). Again, in reference to the type, we observe, that the bust on the obverse is an exact copy of that on many of the coins of Ethelwulf of Wessex, who began his reign in 837; and of Ethelbert, 862; that the reverse is very similar to several of Ethelwulf, and is exactly the same as that of a coin of Berhtulf, of Mercia (Ruding, Plate VII. fig. 2), who ascended the throne in A.D. 839. Lastly, if this coin should be considered as belonging to the Northumbrian king, would it not be very singular, that his stycas should present such monotonous types, when his mind was capable of issuing so (comparatively) excellent a production as that under discussion. An examination of the plates of stycas, published in vol. xxv. of Archæologia, shews us that the first efforts of taste to improve the barbarity of the Northumbrian coinage, appear on the stycas of Ethelred, Eanred's successor. I may further remark, that the only silver coins of this kingdom that I have heard of (for I consider the appropriation of the skeattas to Northumberland very weakly supported), are, a skeatta of Ethelred, extant at the present day, and one of Eanred, in Sir A. Fountaine's plates, both of which, in workmanship and type, resemble the stycas. Having now removed the pennies of Eadvald, and that of Eanred from the position hitherto assigned to them, I must first mention that we have no kings recorded in history to whom they could be appropriated. But, from the resemblance of the first to the money of Offa and Coenwulf, kings of Mercia; of the last to the coins of Ethelwulf and Ethelbert of Wessex, and Berhtulf of Mercia, I think we may safely place them in the East Anglian series. *Eadwald*, then, must have reigned

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almost immediately after *Ethelbert;* and if we consider *Aethelward* as the predecessor of *Eadmund*, he may have been the immediate successor of *Eanred.*

I am Sir,

Your's respectfully,

"*Leeds, June* 16, 1839." D. H. H."

X.

NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

NOTICE SUR QUELQUES MÉDAILLES GRECQUES DES ROIS DE CHYPRE; PAR H. P. BORRELL.—4to. Paris, 1836.

ALTHOUGH this admirable little Essay is printed in French, and published in Paris, we feel pride and pleasure in reminding our readers that its author is an Englishman, resident at Smyrna, and that we are, therefore, fully entitled to claim for our country (through Mr. Borrell) the honour of one of the most brilliant and interesting numismatic discoveries on record.

We conceive ourselves to be fully warranted in this bold expression of our feeling on this occasion, when we consider that a long *suite* of coins, of gold and silver, now for the first time so happily brought together, classed, and proved to belong to several kings of Cyprus, have been well-known to the numismatic world for nearly *two centuries;* and that during this long period, they have, from time to to time, excited the attention,—occupied the minds—and finally eluded the sagacity of such men as Spanheim, Frölich, Pellerin, Beger, C. Combe, Eckhel, T. Combe, Sestini, and Cousinery; besides other numismatists of our own day, whose meritorious labours, in clearing up numismatic difficulties, prove them to be eminently deserving of the great reputation which they severally enjoy.

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We have long had before us this admirable little work; and hailed its first appearance with feelings of the greatest pleasure and satisfaction. It is due therefore to its author, as well as to our readers and ourselves, to state, that a much earlier notice of it would have been given, had we not been tempted to indulge too long in the hope for sufficient leisure to accompany our unqualified praise of Mr. Borrell's discovery, with an abridgment of his arguments in favour of his new attribution and classification of the respective coins. Finding, however, that our wish has operated as an impediment to the performance of our pleasant duty on the one hand, and as, on the other, Mr. Borrell tells us his own story so succinctly and so well; we must content ourselves by referring for all detail to the work itself, not doubting, but that the admirer of Greek coins will rejoice in the perusal, as much as we did.

After conducting his readers by a short route through the early history of Cyprus as an introduction, Mr. Borrell proceeds to describe and appropriate almost all the known coins of the long series which is now found to belong to the kings of this celebrated island. The descriptions are illustrated by a copper-plate.

The earliest of these coins, as classed by Mr. Borrell, is a beautiful one of gold, inscribed EYA, belonging to Evagoras I., who reigned from about the year 405, to 374 B. C. A plate of this coin ornaments the title-page to the work. It was first published by Eckhel,[1] and afterwards by Combe.[2] Next, follow the coins of Nicoles,

[1] Num. Vet. Anec. p. 303, Tab. xvi. No. 4, ex. Mus. Mag. Duc.

[2] Num. Vet. Pop. et Urb. p. 121, Cyrene, No. 4.

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Evagoras II., Pythagoras, Alexander the Great, Pnytagoras, and lastly, Menelaus, who was brother to Ptolemy Soter. These kings reigned principally at Salamis, and as, in the course of the work, it is shewn that some of the Cyprian kings and potentates had governments of small extent, though of considerable power and population, it appears probable that future discoveries will add many new kings to this series; consequently it is, at present, impossible to foresee the important results to which this discovery may lead future numismatic and archaiological students.

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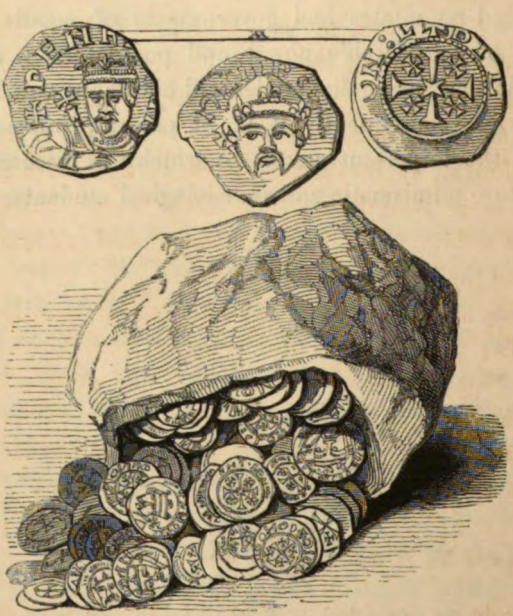

XI.

HOARD OF PENNIES OF HENRY II. FOUND IN BEDFORDSHIRE.

The preceding wood-engraving represents a hoard of silver coins which was found in Bedfordshire, in a piece of hollow sand-stone. No better history of the discovery will be wished for than is contained in the following letter of Colonel Fox, by whom the coins were kindly communi-

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cated to the Numismatic Society; and to whom, as will be perceived, this interesting relic belongs.

"*Ordnance, 19th April*, 1839."

"My dear Sir,

"I send you, to your London address, the stone hollowed out, with all the early English coins (in number 146) in it; as found early in this year, by a labourer in the employment of Mr. Samuel Bennett, (a tenant of the Duke of Bedford's), at Bickering's Park, in the parish of Millbrook, near Ampthill. The Duke very kindly, when brought to him, informed me of them; and my father, who is lord of the manor, gave them to me.

"They are all of Henry the Third's reign, or Henry the Second's; for I believe the types of both kings are the same. None of them are very well preserved; but it is very interesting to have them as found in the stone.

"Pray take care of them, and return them to me at the Ordnance at your leisure. Very sincerely yours,

"C. R. Fox."

"*Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N. &c.&c.*"

It might be desirable to hear the opinion of a geologist on the subject of the hollow stone which concealed these coins: the purse-like shape of its cavity having suggested to some persons the idea of a formation subsequent to the period when the coins themselves were deposited in the earth; at which time, it has been further presumed, that a bag or purse contained them. In support of this idea, it has been pointed out, that the coins were more concealed when first found than they are at present, when poured back into the stone,—a considerable fragment having been accidentally detached from that part of it which is now its aperture. It seems more probable, however, that a natural

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cavity, in an age when savings-banks were unknown, suggested to some poor fellow the idea of secreting within it his accumulated savings. One of the many ills "which flesh is heir to," snatched him away; and with him expired the secret of his hidden treasure.

Yet who shall say that the owner of one hundred and forty-six pence, in the twelfth century was *poor?* With twelve shillings he might have stocked a small farm: and since, about a century and a half later, 10*l.* a year was reckoned a competent estate for a gentleman, in the reign of Henry II, 12*s.* 2*d.* must have constituted no mean provision for a person of inferior quality. We shall probably not err much in supposing, that the owner of this hoard of pennies rejoiced in the consciousness of having as many comforts within his reach, as would be attainable at the present day by a person possessed of 100*l.* or 200*l.* The manners of that age were extremely rude: of modern luxuries, few or none were known; and the whole economy of private social life was conducted with a greater degree of simplicity than it is easy for us to imagine or appreciate.

Henry the Second's pennies were considered rare, until a large quantity of them were found at Royston, about the year 1721;[1] and a still larger hoard, amounting in number to more than 5,700, at Tealby, near Rasen, in the north of Lincolnshire, in 1807; of these, however, 5127 were melted at the Tower. The late accomplished numismatist, Taylor Combe, Esq. furnished the Society of Antiquaries with a learned memoir on the subject of this latter discovery;[2] but it is to be regretted that he offered no suggestion as to the probable cause which led to the secreting of such large numbers of coins of the same monarch. The coins found

[1] Ruding's Annals. [2] Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 1.

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at Tealby, he says, were as fresh as when they were first issued from the Mint; yet their execution was so very bad, that on many of them scarcely two letters could be discerned. The style of workmanship, as he truly observes, confers no credit on the state of the arts in the time of the second Henry; but it is a remarkable circumstance, that although adjusted apparently by a pair of shears, the several pieces correspond in weight with surprising accuracy. The whole of Mr. Combe's paper is well deserving of consideration; for he has investigated the question of the classification of the coins before us, concerning which, as hinted in Col. Fox's letter, a degree of uncertainty has generally been supposed to prevail.

Of the present hoard of Henry II.'s pennies, a favourable specimen has been selected for the engraving which precedes this brief notice; and the obverse of another of irregular shape is also there figured. Though possessing little intrinsic value, the collection itself derives no common degree of interest from its well-authenticated history, and other obvious circumstances. J. W. B.

Brunswick Square, June 27, 1839.

XII.

INEDITED GREEK COINS.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE the honour of forwarding to you a few inedited types of Greek coins, which have recently passed into the collection of the British Museum, from the cabinet of Count Falbe. Although they do not present any thing extremely remarkable in a mythological point of view, they add to the completion of the lists of Greek and Roman types, begun and continued with such zeal by M. Millingen, Mionnet and Sestini. It is only, indeed, by such coins

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being described through a medium similar to your Journal, that the Continental Numismatist, except by personal inspection, can arrive at a knowledge of the varieties of the national collection; and it is with this view I have the pleasure of describing these types.

EPIRUS.

Obv.—Bearded head, galeated, profile to the right; above, a grain of barley.
R.—ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ. A bull butting to the right. Æ. 3½.

The fabric of this coin is exceedingly good, and the type entirely new. The bull butting is commonly found on the autonomous currency of Epirus; but generally in reverse to the allied head of Jupiter and Juno.

The head may probably represent that of Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, one of the early monarchs. The bull and grain of barley may refer to the agricultural employment of the inhabitants of Northern Greece. Oxen, horses, and corn are favourite emblems of the currency of Thessaly, Thrace, Macedon and Epirus.

APAMÆA.

Obv.—Turretted head, profile to the left.
R.—ΠΑΝΚΙΖΗΝΟ. Marsuas walking on the windings of the Meander. Æ. 3½.

The figure on the reverse is not new; but the inscription is a variety of those already published.

SICYON (*Caracalla*).

Obv.—Head of Caracalla laureated, to the right. Legend effaced.
R. ΣΙΚVΩΝΙΩ(Ν). Jupiter naked, standing, holding a thunderbolt; in his left, a long sceptre. Æ. 5½.

No type with Jupiter is published in Mionnet, as appearing in the currency of Sicyon. I do not see why the term Κεραυνιος (*Keraunios*) might not be applied to the figures of Jupiter with the thunderbolt, the Jupiter Tonans of the

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Romans, in contradistinction to Nikephoros, when he appears holding the small image of Νικη, or Victory.

ARGOS (*Severus*).

Obv.—ΑΟΥ · CΕΠ · CΕΟΥΗΡΟC · Π. Head of Severus, laureated, to the right.

R. ΑΡΓΕΙΩ. . . Jupiter seated to the left, holding in his right hand a victoriola; in his left, a long sceptre; at his feet, a bird, apparently an eagle. Æ. 6.

Mionnet has published a type with Jupiter standing. The victoriola and eagle, in the present coin, are exceedingly indistinct. The term "long sceptre" is more applicable to the staff held in the hands of deities than the "hasta" or "hasta pura" of some medallic writers. On the fictile vases, the deities, monarchs, and personages of the highest rank hold this staff, terminating at the apex in a flower with three petals, probably the lotus — at least so called. Monarchs of military and barbaric nations are occasionally mentioned as holding the spear, as an emblem of office.[1]

UNCERTAIN.

Obv.—Indented square profile to the left. A man standing, struggling with an animal, apparently a horse.

R. Animal couchant. Æ.

This coin, which Count Falbe had assigned to Kelenderis, is unfortunately in too bad a state to make out satisfactorily. The animal on the obverse may possibly be *a ram*—if so, the type is new, and was totally unknown to Rasche. The animal on the reverse, also, is so rubbed by wear as to be scarcely able to be assigned—the attitude bears resemblance to the goat on the coins of Kelenderis in Pellerin.

[1] Vid. Eurip. Hekabe. l. 9. Φίλιππον λαὸν εὐθύνων δορὶ.

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There are also traces of an inscription in the exergue beneath the feet of the goat.

Besides these coins, another has been indicated to me by Mr. Barnewell, which possesses great interest, from giving the figure and name of the founder of the isle of Samos. This coin did not belong to the collection of Count Falbe, but formed part of the cabinet of Captain Graves. A similar one, but of smaller size, has apparently been imperfectly edited by M. Mionnet, Supp. vi. 410, No. 174. The Museum specimen is as follows:

Obv.—ANKAIOC. Male figure, naked, standing, looking to the left. In the left hand a long sceptre; his left hand and arm slightly raised, apparently holding some object; the chlamys wrapped round the right arm, and the end drooping to the right.

R. CAMIΩN. Peacock gradient to the right; by its neck a sceptre. The bird stands on a caduceus. Æ. 3½. F · O.

In the place above quoted from M. Mionnet, the obverse presents a similar figure, with the inscription . . NKAΩ., which, in all probability, must read ANKAIOC. The reverse of the coin is different, reading, in Mionnet, HIF (*sic*).

The fable of Ankaios[2] and his vineyard is well known; and the figure is apparently the son of Neptune and Astupalaia, who married the nymph Samia, and founded Samos, giving it that name in honour of Same, the chief town of Cephallenia, from whence he proceeded, by assembling a number of colonists from Cephallenia,[3] Thessaly and Attica. The same person is said to have succeeded the pilot, Tiphys, in

[2] Hygin. Fab. 14. Heinsius ad Hygin. l. c. Apollonius. l. v. 185. Simonides apud Scholiast. ad Apollonium. Paus. Act. Apollodorus. l. 913. Orpheus. Argon. 725.

[3] Jamblich. Vit. Pythagoræ Callimachus Hym. in Delum.

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the direction of the shipArgo. In the colonial currncy of Samos are two types which may possibly refer to the same personage—one represents a warrior armed in complete armour, and with a buckler, standing upon the prow of a vessel, possibly symbolic of the ship Argo, in which the founder of the city performed so distinguished a part. The other represents a naked hero attacking a boar; by his side is a dog. The learned Eckhel attributed this to Meleager slaying the boar of Calydon;[4] but another Ankaios, the son of Lycurgus and Antinöe, is said to have perished during the same hunt under the tusks of the enraged animal.[5] May not some equivoque have arisen with regard to these myths, and at a later period the two personages have been confounded. The coin above cited, with the name of Ankaios, was apparently fabricated during the age of Augustus; and a colonial coin of the same era bears considerable similarity to it in regard to the execution.

London, 28th June, 1839. SAMUEL BIRCH.

[4] Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii., p. 569.

[5] Hygin, Fab. 173—248. Ovid, Met. lib. viii. The founder of Samos met his death also by being pierced by the tusks of a boar; vid. loc. cit.

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MISCELLANEA.

Modern Forgeries of Ancient Coins.

[We take the following observations from the "*Revue Numismatique*" for January and February, 1839.]

"The Directors of the Review cannot be ignorant that the counterfeiting of medals and coins is still continued, and is indeed making grievous strides. We are acquainted with some facts which we would fain make known to our readers; but it would be necessary to mention the names of the individuals connected with these facts, and we therefore decline so delicate a task. Before we dishonour any one with the titles of forger and rogue (and to sell or cause to be sold as genuine, the spurious produce of a detestable industry is certainly to deserve these epithets), undeniable proofs must be obtained, such proofs as could be brought before a tribunal of justice in case of recrimination on the part of the accused.

"If, for instance, any person who has been the victim of these *ingenious fellows* would pursue and have them detected, the warden of the Mint would be made acquainted with the fact, and the Review would make it public. If our subscribers would transmit to us such facts as come under their knowledge, doubtless we might find means to expose some of these shameless artisans; and thus attain our object, by diminishing the number of base coins. Our discretion may be depended upon should we be referred to; and we have already in our possession some curious specimens of false coins, but it is not in our power to name the artificers upon whom suspicion rests. In the mean time, we beg our readers to refer to the note inserted page 27 of the second part of the "Catalogue of Coins of the Revolution and Empire," by M. Combrouse. The three individuals unnamed by M. Combrouse, reside in Paris: but our provincial friends are not more free from danger than the amateurs of the capital, and must be warned that these *soi-disant* collectors of ancient coins not only recruit at Paris, but, by means of the Review, have paid more than one *interesting* visit to those whose names they find inserted there as subscribers. Let us be careful that they do not present us with some trash in exchange for a really valuable piece, with whose worth we are not fully acquainted. As a general rule, let the received reputation of the seller be a guarantee for his merchandise; and let us have no dealings with suspicious brokers. At Paris, it is well known

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with whom it is safe to negotiate: we must then be prudent, and fear those exchanges wherein we give up valuable coins that serve as models from which to stamp base ones.

"The Paduans of the present day are not content with mere imitation, but they absolutely invent; and there is reason to think that those rich amateurs who give for an unpublished piece ten times its weight in gold, are already possessed of several of these bad coins, many of which are, indeed, but imaginary. We can quote a remarkable instance of the manner in which numismatists may be deceived.

"In the last number of the Review (1838, page 466) we spoke with enthusiasm upon the coins of the first tribunes of the Venetian Archipelago, from the year 460 to 887; and we congratulated M. Pfister upon his discovery of numismatic monuments, the most ancient which under the Christian era bear true dates. These pieces were re-produced after M. Minizzi, director of the Venetian Mint, who published, in 1818, an anonymous pamphlet, entitled 'Delle Monete de Veneziane dal Principio al Fine della loro Republica.' The memoir of M. Pfister was read before the Numismatic Society of London,[1] and no claim being made in consequence of what was there noted, we may be excused for having given credit to the authenticity of documents accepted by our London colleagues. M. le Chevalier Jules de San Quintino, writes to us as follows: 'M. Pfister was deceived at Venice. For seventeen years I have combated the opinions of M. Minizzi, and have proclaimed as false all those coins and Venetian dies anterior to the eleventh century. In support of my argument, it is a fact that, two or three years after my notices were published, all the dies from which these coins were stamped were discovered at the death of the forger in his house.' The individual above alluded to can no longer deceive any one. Becker, who was equally ingenious but more honourable, since he confessed his forgeries, has likewise finished his career; but the trade was a good one, and improved greatly through the zeal of the numismatic collectors; and thus the colleagues of these base coiners have daily increased in number, in art, and in audacity. Let us then unite in putting a stop to this contraband trading, which is both criminal and immoral: and is as inimical to science as it is grievous to those who bestow their time and their money on the study of Numismatics."

[1] This is an error: the article was contributed to the Numismatic Journal, and was not read before the Society. When these pieces were shewn to us, our first enquiry was "*But are they really genuine?*" We were assured that they had actually been discovered in the sands at Venice; and upon this assurance we were induced to publish them.—*Editor Num. Chron.*

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[We trust these observations of our excellent colleague will have the desired effect; and that the numismatists of the Continent will thereby be put on their guard. In France, Germany, and Italy, the forgers of ancient coins possess both skill and knowledge; and the collectors are often considerable sufferers by their frauds. In England, false coins have, within the last year, made their appearance in great numbers, owing no doubt to the obvious increase of numismatic studies in this country. Many of these forgeries are, however, so badly executed as to deceive only a novice. A fellow of respectable appearance and very plausible manner, has been making the tour of the principal towns, where he has disposed of a number of false coins. Some of these we have had sent to us; and we must say, that a little circumspection would have saved the purchasers, who, if not competent judges themselves, might have taken the opinion of some experienced friends. All the *cast* forgeries we have seen may be detected by a common magnifying glass, and the execution of the Saxon coins (of which nearly all the rare specimens are given) is, with one or two exceptions, too clumsy to deceive any one who has inspected a dozen genuine pieces. Should this not operate as a warning, and the rogue continue his traffic, his name, with a minute description of his person and account of *his manner of transacting business*, shall be given in detail without regard to consequences. Ed.]

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Want of space obliges us to omit an account of the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society, and several notices of Numismatic Publications. In our next we shall not fail to bring up arrears.

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FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6

FIG. 7.

FIG. 8.

T. S. del.

H. L. Pyne sc.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

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FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

FIG. 6.

H.A. Ogg. sculp.

COINS OF EGYPTIAN NOMOS.

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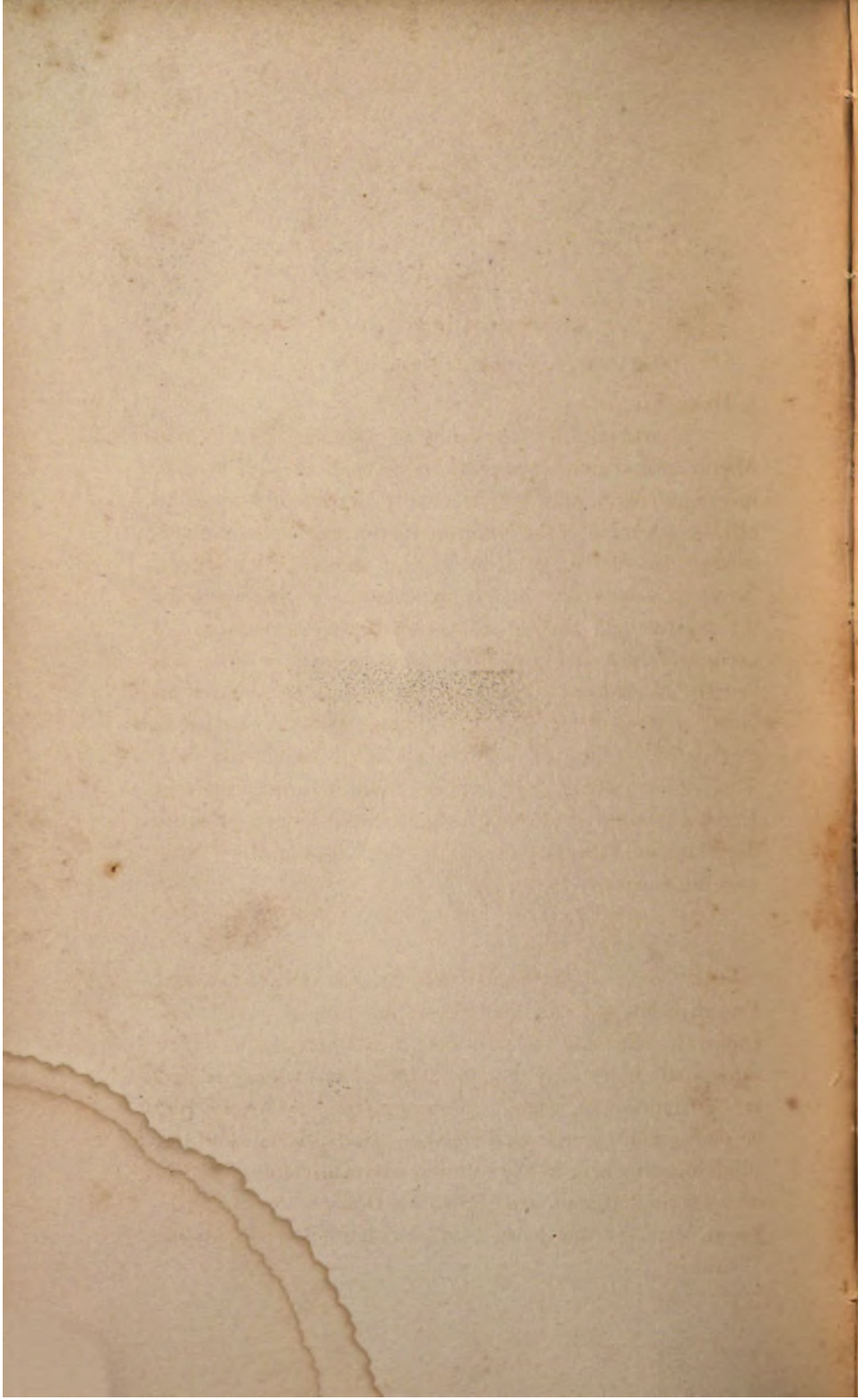

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XIII.

MONEY OF ETHIOPIA.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 27th June, 1839.]

Dear Sir,

Although the study of Medals and Coined Money forms more especially the subject of your learned investigations, it may not be totally devoid of interest to call the attention of the Numismatic Society to the methods which necessity suggests in lieu of money, when metal currency is too scarce or too expensive. I shall waive for the present all theoretical observations on the signs of exchange most likely to be chosen by nations little advanced in civilization, as those must first be founded on facts; and to these I shall call your attention as far as regards those parts of Abyssinia which I visited last year. This subject is, in those regions, more naturally than in Europe, divided into two parts, as we consider;—Firstly, the Stamped Metallic; Secondly, the Unstamped, or Non-metallic Currency.

I.

Gold Coins of Muhhamed Ali, English Sovereigns, and French Coins of Gold and Silver, are almost equally unknown in the Red Sea, although current every where throughout Egypt. Venetian Sequins, and money coined at Constantinople bear a premium, but are every day becoming more scarce, although the Arabs of Asír and the adjoining provinces in the interior, offer a discount of 25 per cent. for the latter money. Spanish Dollars are but little known even in the more northern markets; the grand

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medium of exchange being the Austrian dollar or *Species-thaler* worth 4*s.* 2*d.* at par. This preference is, without doubt, referable to the early commerce of the Venetians in those parts, prior even to the commercial and warlike expeditions of the Portuguese in the Red Sea. On the Egyptian and Arabian Coasts, thalers of any date are taken; but at *Mussawwa'*, and probably in the other Ethiopian sea-ports beyond *H'alaï dogsa*, Guraó and the few other market towns in immediate communication with *Mussawwa'*, the thaler of Maria Theresa is the only one received; as the trade at those places depends on the commerce with Abyssinia, where no other thaler is current, unless at an enormous loss: Several conditions are requisite to make a thaler good. It must bear 1st, at least five dots (in the Abyssinia dialect *sanafoch*, i. e. grains of mustard, or *ebaba* i. e. flowers), under the imperial crown; at most 7 or 8; 2nd, nine dots in the shoulder-knot (called *charaka* i. e. moon); 3rd, the letters S·F under the head. The date (1780), and the double eagle called *afanosoï* or *phenix* are likewise sometimes scrutinized; but the obverse face of the coin is the only important one in the eyes of the Abyssinian traders. Our landlord at *Góndar Atkú*, who is a Lik, or hereditary judge and nobleman, remembered the first introduction of the Dollars of Maria Theresa. They were imported into the province of Sarowa, and soon preferred to all others, because they bear a queen's head, which, as a female emblem, portends offspring, or increase of wealth. Shortly afterwards, as fresh ones are constantly sought for, they were distinguished by the dots and letters mentioned above. These ridiculous notions, first broached in Gojam, were soon propagated through the rest of Abyssinia; so that in *Mussawwa'* a discount of 5% is often paid to get rid of undotted dollars. The rulers of Abyssinia have tried to

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put down these absurd notions, but Royal Edicts and even Ecclesiastical Censures have hitherto been issued in vain.

Dr. Rüppell informs us that Abyssinia had anciently its own coins.

II.

At *Mussawwa'*, *kharaz* or glass beads are the only currency. Three *kharaz* form a *kebér* (great), 40 *kebár* compose a *kharf*, or string of beads, although never tied together; for the *kharaz* are carried in bags, or tied up in the corner of a cloth. In February 1838,one dollar was worth 34 strings, but subsequently fell to 29, in the beginning of March, on account of the large quantity of milk brought in by the Ahabáb Shepherds, who are not willing to take any money but *kharaz* which are marked by a little dark brown ring, 8 or 10 millimetres (from 3 to 4 lines) in diameter, and varying in thickness from 4 to 7 millimetres (2 to 3 lines), with a hole 2 millimetres (1 line) wide. A few *kharaz* are white, or light blue: the traders count them by tens very fast.

In the *'Adwah* market, the principal currency is the *Stamma*, or white piece of cotton cloth, which is cut into halves or quarters, as occasion requires. For smaller purposes, handfuls of *tef* or plaited threads of dark blue silk are always received as currency. Salt is seldom offered; that is, perhaps, because the supply is very variable on account of the vicinity of the salt plains.

On the market of *Shakha*, the currency is either salt or *Stamma*. In *Dambya* and *Gójam*, salt is in great request everywhere, and increases so rapidly in value towards the Gáltá country, that a slave purchased in Enárea for 24 pieces, is worth 160 pieces in Góndar. There pieces called *emóle*

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are cut in the shape of a mower's whetstone. Their dimensions are as follow :—

Length, 200 millimetres (8 inches).
Thickness, 25 millimetres (1 inch).
Breadth, from 20 to 25 millimetres ($\frac{3}{4}$—1 inch).
Ditto in the middle, 50 millimetres (2 inches).

These measures vary about 6 or 7 millimetres (3 lines). Each *emól* is tied lengthways, by a thong of raw hide slit so as to make a belt. The salt is gray and very porous, some holes measuring 10 millimetres by 6 (5 lines by 3). In June 1838, a good dotted dollar was worth 20 *emól*. A very good one with 7 or 8 *ebaba* was worth 21 or 22. The exchange has sometimes risen to 30, and even to 35. The *Góndar* dealers sometimes take $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ *emól*, but never less. In the Galtá country, the *emól* is divided into finger-breadths, and often cut in consequence. As the dots of a dollar are always examined and counted, so the *emól* is estimated by its dimensions and weight; thus there is a perpetual discussion on the value of the currency.

The Galla tribes chiefly use glass beads for money. Those most esteemed are red with an equatorial zone of white enamel; these are called *ekaba*. In June 1838, 16 *ekaba* were sold in Góndar for one dollar.

If this account of the Abyssinian money can excite interest among your learned investigations on the coins of Rome and Greece, it will amply repay

Your ever truly

A. Thomson d'Abbadie.

London, 23rd June, 1839.

To J. Lee, Esq., LL.D., Pres. Num. Soc.

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XIV.

DESCRIPTION OF TWO CUFIC COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society 27th June, 1839].

Both these coins are nearly of the same date, and in a very good state of preservation. They both belong, virtually, but not nominally, to the reign of the same sovereign; viz. the celebrated Bedru-d dín Lúlú, or Lóló, whose name is well known to all who have read the "Thousand and One Days," or Persian Tales translated by Petis de la Croix.

Bedru-d dín, that "Full-moon of the Faith," as his title implies, was Magister Domus to the last of the Atá-Begs, or Turkish Princes of the Arabian 'Irák, who reigned at Márdín or Mósul (Mausil). These Atá-Begs of the Zingí, or negro race, from being preceptors or fathers of their lords (such is the signification of their title), became themselves independent princes; and after the death of Mas 'úd, the last but two of the Atá-Begs of Irak, A. H. 615 (A. D. 1218), his "Maire du Palais," Lúlú (the "Pearl" of great price) reigned in reality, though as Vice-gerent of his two sons, Arselán Sháh, and Marmúd, successively, having become, on the death of the latter without issue, A. H. 631 (A. D. 1234), the nominal, as well as the real, possessor of the Sovereign Power at Mósul.

The legends on these coins are as follows :—

I.

A.—Effigies Principis more Asiatico sedentis et Lunam arcuatam manibus tenentis, stella subter utramque ulnam in area Numi.

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In ora Numi et juxta faciem altro citroque.

ضرب بالموصل بسنة سبع وشرين و ستمايۃ

Ḍhuriba bi-l Mausil, bi-seneh seba' wa-'ashrín wa-sittamiyah (*i. e.* Mausilæ cusus Anno DCXXVII, A. D. 1230).

B.—*In Area.*

الامام	El Imám:	*i. e.* Antistes:
لا اله الا الله	Lá-Iláh illá-llah!	(Non est) Deus nisi Deus!
محمد رسول الله	Mohammed Resú-lu-llah!	Mohammed (est) Propheta Dei!
المستنسر بالله	El Mostansir-bi-llah.	El Mostansir billah (*i. e.* Qui quærit opem a Deo)
امير المومنين	Emíru-l Múminín	(est) Imperator Fidelium.

In ora Numi الملك الاشرف ناصر الدنيا والدين

...El Melik el ashraf, Násiru-d-dunyá wa-d-dín (*i. e.* Rex Nobilissimus, Auxiliator Sæculi et Fidei).

Násiru-d dín was the distinctive title of the last of the Atá-Begs, *Maḥmúd*, who died A. H. 631 (A. D. 1234).

See Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, p. 166, Tab x. No. c.

Adler, Museum Cuficum Borgianum Pars ii. (or Collectio Nova Nummorum Cuficorum) Tab. iv. No. lxiv., has a coin very like this, bearing date (according to his text, not according to his plate) A. H. DCLIV. (A. D. 1256).

II.

A.—*In Area.*

الامام	El Imám:	*i. e.* Antistes.
المستنصر	El Mostansir	(El Mostansir bi-llah
بالله امير	bi-llah, Emir	(Opem quaerens a Deo)
المومنين	el Múminín	Imperator Fidelium.

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B.—*In ora.*

الملك الكامل ال... [بدر] الدنيا والدين لولو

El Melik el Kámil el. [Bedru]-d dunyá wa-d-dín Lúlú, (*i. e.* Rex Perfectus....Margarita, Luna plena Fidei).

See Marsden, Numism. Orient. p. 168, Tab. x. No. clxxxi. (clxxi), where the inscription round the head is incorrectly deciphered.

Adler, Mus. Cufic. Borg. Pars. i. p. 66, Tab. v. No. xxxiv.

Mus. Cuf. Borg. Pars ii. p. 90. Tab. iv. No. lxiii.

The high preservation of these coins, and the legibility of their inscriptions greatly enhance their value.

G. C. R.

21*st June*, 1839.

XV.

UNPUBLISHED ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.—No. 4.

LEGENDS ON GAULISH AND BRITISH COINS.

The interest excited by the recent publication of remarkable coins, supposed of British origin, encourages the hope that ere long a sufficient number of facts relating to them will be acquired, to enable the numismatic antiquary to distinguish those which belong to this country, from such as were issued by the Gaulish tribes. The publication, from time to time, in the *Revue Numismatique*, of coins, undoubtedly Gaulish, cannot fail to materially assist these inquiries; and the appearance of the long-promised work of M. de la Saussaye, one of the learned editors of the *Revue*, will add to our means of information.

On looking over the long and carefully compiled list of M. Mionnet, we are struck with the absence of any attempt

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whatever to appropriate the coins of which he gives so many varieties. But what is more remarkable, those which bear the legend VER, and of which he finds no specimen in the French cabinet, contenting himself with quoting them from *Combe*,[1] are denied their British origin; and he observes on one of them—"Cette Médaille et la suivante ont été attribuées, *sans fondement*, à Verulamium de la Grande Bretagne!"[2] This bold assertion is, doubtless, founded on the unbelief of the Great Eckhel.[3] It is not, therefore, by the mere expression of opinion, but by *the multiplication of facts* that the claim of Britain to certain coins, found solely in this country, can be maintained and established.

It is very probable that among the coins which future discoveries may bring to light in England, pieces of Gaulish origin may occasionally be found, and, perhaps, published as British. In this case, however, they will be made known to the continental numismatists, and our zealous and vigilant colleagues of the French *Revue*, will not fail to note, and record, the error.[4] We have reason, however, to believe that such misappropriations will not be frequent, for the style and character of the British coins are, in most cases, essentially different.

In furtherance of the object proposed, we shall proceed to give a description of the several coins engraved, in the accompanying plate.

No. 1.—*Obv.*—Several rude figures probably intended collectively to form one object.

---

[1] Vet. Pop. et Reg. Num. in Mus. Brit. p. 13.
[2] Descrip. de Med. Antiq. Supp. Tome 1re p. 163.
[3] Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I. p 14.
[4] M. de la Saussaye claims for France the coins engraved in Plate 1, Nos. 7 and 8, of the Numismatic Journal, Vol. I. One of these reads CATTI, which he assigns to Armorica.

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Rev.—Six pellets, and a seventh within a circle, and some other objects rudely delineated. Æ

If this piece is British it has been so closely imitated from a Gaulish coin, as to destroy its identity. A similar, though better defined, coin is given by Ruding, plate iv. This, and the five following pieces, are said to have been discovered in Cambridgeshire, and are in the possession of Mr. Kenyon of Preston.

No. 2.—*Obv.*—A naked male figure kneeling to the right, with both arms raised: above, the symbol No. 3.[5]

Rev.—A horse galloping to the right: below, a peculiarly formed star, resembling symbol No. 14. On the fore and hind quarters of the horse, symbol No. 2. Æ

It is worthy of remark, that the two latter symbols are often found so disposed on the coins discovered in Cambridgeshire and the adjoining counties.

No. 3.—It is difficult to describe this rude piece with the pen: the reverse bears what appears to be an attempt to represent a horseman galloping to the right, with some symbol below. Æ

No. 4.—Another rude coin, the obverse probably intended for a human head. The reverse has several objects, and apparent attempts to represent letters; but a pentagon with pellets at the angles is very well defined. Æ

No. 5.—The obverse of this coin is equally rude. The reverse bears the figure of a winged griffin running to the right, with several characters, probably intended for letters. Æ

The type of this coin is novel, and we must wait for further evidence before we venture on its appropriation. Both this and No. 4 are very beautifully *patinated*.

No. 6.—The origin of this coin is still more doubtful. We publish it because it is said to have been discovered with the preceding pieces. If not really Roman we believe it to have been imitated from some colonial coin of the age of Claudius. Æ

The two following pieces (presented to us by the Rev. J. B. Reade) were found at March, in Cambridgeshire, with a number of other coins now dispersed; some of which have already been described in the Numismatic Chronicle.

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[5] Vide the plate of symbols, Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I.

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No. 7.—*Obv.*—A nondescript animal to the right, with a pellet on the fore quarter. The symbol, formed of three pellets, occurs twice, and there is a single pellet behind the animal, whose neck extends nearly to the edge of the coin, and terminates in what may be supposed to be intended for a head.

Rev.—An animal resembling a horse, but with a branching tail, caracoling to the right: above, a symbol, and the symbol No. 48, formed of three pellets. Weight 15 grains. Æ

No. 8.—*Obv.*—The obverse type of this coin appears to be a rude attempt to represent a human head with a kind of crested cap.

Rev.—An animal similar to that on the reverse of the preceding coin; below, symbol No. 3; beneath the tail the symbol No. 48, and above, another symbol, indistinct. Weight 14 grains. Æ

The obverses of these two pieces are perfectly novel in the series of British coins; we find nothing like them in the lists of Mionnet, and the descriptions in the Revue Numismatique. The reverses, too, are worthy of notice. In most cases the British *artists* appear to have failed in the representation of their favourite object, the horse, solely from want of skill; but here they seem to have taken heraldic license with the animals they have represented.

With a view to assist those to whom the larger works of Ruding and Mionnet are not always accessible, we shall here give a list of the legends found on Gaulish and British coins. The former are taken from the well known Description de Med. Antiques of Mionnet, from the Revue de la Numismatique Françoise, and from other sources. We believe, that in many instances, the legends are barbarous imitations of those on other coins, but the labours of the Marquis Lagoy,[6] and M. de la Saussaye, have shewn that this is not always the case. May the endeavours of our English Numismatists be crowned with the like success.

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[6] The work of this able antiquary on the coins of Cunobelinus, claims the respect and gratitude of the English Numismatist. The sound sense displayed in this tract gives importance to his appropriation of many Gaulish coins.

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LEGENDS ON BRITISH COINS.

	obverse.	*reverse.*
1	SEGO . . .	TASCIO.
2	CVNOBEL . .	CAMV.
3	CVNOBILI (*sic*)	CAMV.
4	CVNOBHI (*sic*)	CAMVL.
5	CVNO . . .	CAMV.
6	CVNO . . .	CAM.
7	CVN	CAMV.
8	CVNO . . .	TASCIO.
9	CVNOBEII (*sic*)	TASC.
10	CVNOBELINI(*sic*)	none.
11	CVNO . . .	CAMVI.
12	CVNOBEL . .	CVN.
13	CVNOBEAI . .	CVN.
14	IAƎƎONVƆ . .	none.
15	CVNO . . .	TASCIIOVA (*sic*)
16	CVN	none.
17	CVNOBELINI	TASCIOVANI
18	CVNOBELINVS REX	TASC.
19	CVNOB . . .	CAM.
20	TASCIA . . .	none.
21	VER	TASCIA.
22	VER	none.
23	VERVLAMIO	none.
24	BODVOC[7]	none.
25	SEGO	none.
26	CVN	SOLIDO.
27	CVNOBELIN	TASCIO.
28	TASC . . .	none.
29	none . . .	TASC.
30	none	T.
31	TASCIO . . .	VER.
32	NOωVFPOSDVM.	VO... N. SI... (*sic*)[8] . . . O. (*sic*)
33	none	V.

LEGENDS ON GAULISH COINS.

1	none . . .	ABVDOS.
2	ABVDOS . .	ABVD.
3	none . . .	..CCAIOS(*sic*)
4	none . . .	REX.ADIETVA
5	none . . .	ADNASATI.
6	APHTCIAMO> (*sic*)	NAVMV.
7	none . . .	AMBACTVS.
8	ANDOB . . .	none.
9	AREMACIOS	none.

[7] We require more evidence respecting the origin of the coins with this type. Its appropriation to Britain is very questionable. The type is of Gaulish character, though the legend (BODVOC) is not found in the list given by Mionnet.

[8] This legend has been variously interpreted. One fond antiquary read it VOADISIO for BOADICEA, while another explained the legend thus: *I fly from the war chariots!!* Pinkerton alone could have done justice to this *savant*.

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	obverse.	*reverse.*
10	ATEVLA[9] .	. VLATOS.
11	ATΓII (*sic*)	. none.
12	none . . .	. ATTA.
13	none . . .	. AVPO.
14	none . . .	. BVCATO.
15	CALEDV .	. none.
16	none . . .	. CAN.
17	CARMANO .	. COM.
18	idem . . .	. COMM . . OI.
19	CARSICIOS .	. CMMI . . OS.
20	CIAMILOS .	. none.
21	COLIMA[10] .	. . . IMA.
22	none . . .	. COMΔ.
23	B. R. . .	. COMΔ.
24	CAR . . .	. COMIOS.
25	*legend effaced*	. HP.COMI[11] (*sic*)
26	none . . .	. INOↃ
27	none . . .	. ↄONOЯ.
28	KONTOVTOS	. none.
29	CORIAISSOS	. none.
30	none . . .	. KYI. (*sic*)
31	KRACCVS .	. . . RM.
32	Θ . . CI .	. CRAMITOC.
33	none . . .	. CRICIRV. (*sic*)
34	none . . .	. CVCIVS.IIIↃ. (*sic*)
35	ΔЄIOYIN .	. none.

	obverse.	*reverse.*
36	none . . .	. DIAOVLOS.
37	Q.DOCI.Q.D.	. Q.DOCI.SAN.
38	Q. D. . .	. Q. D.
39	*legend effaced*	.Q.DOCI.SAMI
40	none . . .	. DOCI. AN.
41	DVRNACVS .	. DONNVS.
42	none . . .	. DVBNOREX.
43	DVRNOCOV	. DVBNOREX.
44	idem . . .	. DVBNOREIX
45	ЄAKЄSOOYIZ (*sic*)	TASSIITIOS[12]
46	EDVIS . .	. none.
47	none . . .	. . . . . EINOC.
48	EPAD . .	. none.
49	ERCO . .	. ERCOV.
50	none . . .	. GERMANVS. INVTILLI.I.
51	GIAMILO .	. GIAMILOS.
52	GIAMILO .	. IIIS (*sic*).
53	none . . .	. ƧOↃI.
54	none . . .	. IIPOMILAOS
55	none . . .	. IVNIS.Θ.
56	. . . KЄSOO	. ЄAKЄSOOYIZ...
57	none . . .	. LEDV.
58	LIHO·VI .	. OVACIA.
59	none . . .	. LITA.
60	none . . .	. LITAN.
61	LVS . . .	. none.
62	none . . .	. LYCCI.

[9] The coins bearing this legend were formerly erroneously attributed to the Gothic king, *Attila*.

[10] See also SOLIMA. No. 171.

[11] This appears to be a variety of the legend IPPI·COMI. Vide Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 85; and the present list, No. 131.

[12] The coins with this legend are assigned by M. de la Saussaye to Tasget, or Tasgetius, the Gaulish chief.—Vide Revue de Numismatique Françoise, tome 1er. p. 1.

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	obverse.	*reverse.*
63	none . .	. MAV.
64	none . .	.NAMAV.SAT
65	none . .	. . . . NGE.
66	NIDE . .	. ALABBOAI-IOC (*sic*)
67	NIDI . .	. VRI. (*sic*)
68	NINNO . .	. NINNO.
69	NINNO . .	. ɔVAM.
70	none . .	. NONNOS.
71	ONDIA . .	. A.
72	COIOS . .	. ORCITIRIX.
73	none . .	. OTTOS, or OTIOS.
74	none . .	. OYI'KY.
75	none . .	. OVIRICIV.
76	OXAOII . .	. none.
77	none . .	. PIKO.
78	ΓICTILOS .	. none.
79	PIXTIL . .	. none.
80	PIXTILOS .	. none.
81	POOCTIKA .	. ROVECA.
82	PIΓA ? . .	. ΓAINOC.
83	RICA . .	. none.
84	none . . .	. KRICIRV.
85	none . . .	. CRICIRO.
86	ROVE . .	. none.
87	ROVECA . .	. POOTIKA.
88	none . . .	. ROVECA.
89	ROVV . .	. CNVO.
90	SENODON .	. CALEDV.
91	SOLIM . .	. . . AIM.
92	none . . .	. SON'CA'T.
93	REX'ADIETVA-NVS.	SOTIOTA.
94	none . .	. SVISSA.
95	none . .	. TA'NOS.
96	TOS . . .	. TOS.
97	TOGIR . .	. TOC'I.
98	GIRIX . .	. TO. . . . .
99	TOG . .	. TOGIHI.(*sic*)
100	TOGIRIX .	. TOGIRI.
101	none . .	. OTTINA.
102	none . .	. TVO.
103	none . .	. VADNAIO.
104	VERCA .	. none.
105	VIROS ? .	. none.
106	none . .	. VIIIOTAI.
107	VTICCOS .	. none.
108	none . .	. YLLYCCI.
109	none[13] . .	. . . ?ONNON.
110	AΘIIDIAC .	. . . HIRIM.
111	none . .	. ADNA.
112	none . .	. ADNASATI.
113	none . .	. ARDA.
114	ATECTORI	. none.
115	none . .	. AVDOS.
116	TTPILI'II'(*sic*)	none.
117	none . .	. . . . BIOS.
118	none . .	. BIRACOS. (*Pembroke*)
119	none . .	. BOOVIKA.
120	BRIGIOS .	. none.
121	BRICO . .	. COMAN.
122	none . .	. BVSV.
123	REX'CALLE	. IP. (*Combe*)
124	none . .	. CAMBOTRE.
125	CARMANOS	. COMMIOS.
126	CEL . .	. none.

[13] Nos. 1 to 109, inclusive, are from Mionnet's Descrip. vol. i. pp. 85—96.

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obverse.	*reverse.*
127 CICIIDV'B .	. IIPAD.
128 none . .	. COCESTIVS.
129 none . .	. CONGES.
130 COINOS ? .	. none.
131 COMF . .	. EPPILLVS[14] (*Combe*)
132 REX'ADIETVA	. SOTIOGA.
133 none . .	. DIKOA *pro* PIKO.
134 none . .	. DOCI.AA.
135 DVRAT .	. IVLIOS.
136 none . .	. EBVLILIM.
137 EDVIS . .	. none.
138 none . .	. ECES. (*Combe*)
139 none . .	. ENbILO.
140 EPAD . .	. none.
141 EPAT . .	. none. (*Combe*)
142 EPENOC .	. EIIHNOC.
143 ƷI . . .	. EVOIVRIX.
144 GIAMILOS	. GIAMILOS.
145 GIRIX . .	. none.
146 none . .	. HPOIEI ?
147 none . .	. . . . IINOS.
148 IIRATOS .	. V'D'S.
149 BINNO . .	. none.
150 none . .	. LITAV.
151 . . . . MB C. [ASIRRISSOSLLXOVIOISVIƧƧIC (*sic*)	
152 *legend effaced*	NBNORE(*sic*)
153 none . . . [ɔOAVIIVOONIƎN ?	
154 NINNO . .	. IVAN(*retrograde*)(*Eckhel*)
155 none . .	. OCI'SAA.
156 OCVV . .	. . . IVOI.
157 OIANO (*sic*)	. none.
158 none . .	. OINO.
159 none . .	. OTTOS, or OTIOS.
160 ΓIXTILOS .	. none.
161 RIIIPA .	. none.
162 ROVECA .	. none.
163 ROV̄ECA .	. none.
164 . . . VECA .	. POOYIKA. (*sic*)
165 none . .	. POOTICA.
166 SENODON .	. CALERV, or CALEDV.[15]
167 none . .	. SON'AL'APA
168 none . .	. AON. . . .AP.
169 SICOS.LIXOVIO.SIMISSO — [AMBOS'CATTOSVERCO. . EIO.	
170 SOLI . .	. MA.
171 SOLIMA .	. none.[16]
172 none . .	. Q.D.SΔA.I.
173 none . .	. SOOCVANOS
174 none . .	. TATINOS.
175 TICOS . .	. none.
176 TOG, or TOGIR, TOGIII (*sic*) or TOGIRIX	
177 TOVTOBOCIO	. ATEPILOS. (*Eckhel*)
178 none . .	. VADV̄AIIIO (*sic*)
179 . . . . VDƐCON	. none.

[14] See the remark under No. 25.

[15] See also No. 90.

[16] See also No. 91.

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obverse.	*reverse.*
180 YDECOM . .	. AND.
181 none . .	. VARTICE.
182 none . .	. . . . VEIA.
183 none . .	. VIIΓOTAL...
184 none . .	. VO. . . .
185 none . .	. VIR. V.
186 none . .	. VIPICI.
187 VIROS . .	. VIROOS.
188 VOCAR[17] . .	. VOCARANT. (*Sestini*)
189 none[18] . .	. VΠOΛ (*sic*)
190 none . .	. +ΠΠNIOV. (*sic*)
191 none . .	.AIIIIIII(*sic*)
192 none . .	. NVIV. (*sic*)
193 none . .	. OIIIII.
194 none . .	. . .ISV.[19]
195 none . .	. Φ.MA. (*sic*)
196 SIMISSOS PVBLICOS LIXOVIO	CISIAM BOS CATTOS VERCO-BRETO[20]
197 . . INCETORIX	none.[21]
198 none . .	. ΠAPOS.[22]
199 none . .	. BISO. (*retrograde*)[23]
200 none . .	. ABVCATO.
201 AVLOIB .	. SOLIMA[24]
202 TVRONOS .	. CANTOCIX, or CANTORIX.
203 I. . . IICRITV-RIX . .	. . . . IRIMP.
204 ARIVOS .	. SANTONOS.
205 ANNICCOIOS	. none.
206 ATECTORI	. none.
207 none . .	. CAN.
208 none . .	. VANE...
209 CARSICIOS	. CMM...OS.
210 CAV . .	. none.
211 ACTIKO .	. ΣA. . .AΓHT
212 none . .	. OKIPT.
213 none . .	. VOOC.
214 none[25] . .	. VOL.
215 C . . .	. LITA.
216 none[26] . .	. LITAVICOS.
217 none . .	. KAAET.
218 EPILLOS .	. none.
219 none . .	. BELINOC.
220 none . .	. SVI.
221 . . . . RA .	. DIARILOS.
222 SVTICOS .	. ELIOCAΘI.

[17] Nos. 110 to 188, inclusive, are from Mionnet's Description, Supp. vol. i. pp. 151—163.

[18] Id. p. 165, Première Division.

[19] Id. p. 170, Deuxieme Division.

[20] Vide Revue de la Numismatique Françoise, Tome 1^er^. p. 13.

[21] Idem, p. 161, a coin of the Chief Vercingetorix.

[22] Idem, p. 243. [23] i. e. Bisontium, idem, p. 402.

[24] See No. 171.

[25] Nos. 209—222 have been illustrated by the Marquis Lagoy, and assigned to various provinces in Gaul, in a tract entitled "Notice sur l'Attribution de quelques Médailles des Gaules," &c. [26] See Nos. 59 and 60 of this list.

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It cannot fail to be observed, that in the lists here given the names are widely different: it would puzzle the most fanciful antiquary to discover any similarity. The series of Gaulish coins is very extensive, while the British coins, bearing letters, are few, and less varied in type and legend; the English Numismatist has, consequently, less to direct him in his enquiry. Future discoveries may, however, bring to light fresh evidence: in the meantime it is the duty of all who are interested in these researches to place on record, as circumstantially as possible, every particular respecting new types and legends.

J. Y. A.

Peckham,
29th August, 1839.

XVI.

ANECDOTES OF THE ENGLISH COINAGE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, June 27th, 1839].

25, *Parliament Street.*

My dear Sir,

Should you be disposed to vary your graver researches, whether into classic or mediæval antiquity, with a few notices of comparatively recent coins, and illustrative, perhaps, of manners rather than mintages, I beg to offer to your perusal four historical anecdotes allusive to our own domestic currency; which, if answering no higher purpose, may be considered as affording interesting illustrations, at once of the money and the wit which formed the most ready change of our ancestors.

They are extracted from a manuscript Jest-book now in the British Museum, written by Sir Nicholas Lestrange,

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of Hunstanton, in Norfolk, Bart., the eldest brother of the celebrated Sir Roger Lestrange. Selections from this MS. form a portion of the volume of Anecdotes and Traditions, now on the eve of publication by the Camden Society, under the editorship of Mr. Thoms, their Secretary, with whose concurrence I make this communication, adopting his illustrative notes, with a few additions.

I remain, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

The first of these anecdotes relates to a new coinage of Farthings, about the middle of the reign of Charles the First. It is as follows:—

"The Earle of Arundell, Lord Marshall, had the sole patent for coining of new Farthings, with a distinct marke for their currancy, because many were counterfeited before; and when he went Embassador to the Emperour, the Mint-house was well stor'd, but lock'd up untill his returne. The sicknesse being then in London, and poore people wanting their coine, some knave or other in the night clap't a redde crosse upon the dore, and thus underwritt it:—"Lord, have mercy upon us! for this house is full of Tokens."

Respecting the issue of Farthing Tokens, Ruding has given the Royal Proclamation, dated in March, 1635-6, in his Annals of the Coinage, vol. ii. p. 251. In the former reign, the patent had been enjoyed by Lord Harrington, from whom the Farthing Token acquired the name of a Harrington, under which it frequently occurs in our old dramatists. The embassy of the Earl of Arundel to Vienna took place in the course of the same year; and it was then he met with the celebrated Hollar, at Prague, and induced him to settle in England. The "distinct marke for their currancy," which authenticated the new coinage, was a small piece of brass let into the centre of the copper blanks, from which the farthings were struck. The "sicknesse" which was then prevalent was the plague, for that dreadful disorder was

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then commonly spoken of by what may now appear an inexpressive term, "the sicknesse;" the "redde crosse upon the dore," was the well-known mark of an infected house; and the tokens of the plague, upon which the cockney knave founded his jest, were the eruptive spots upon the body, "of a bright flaming red colour," as they are described in the recently published Diary (or rather common-place book) of the Rev. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon. Indeed, if we may believe the same authority, these tokens were not always superficial only, for "Dr. Wharton said, all people that died *in* the plague, dyed *of* the plague; that he had opened one that had no tokens nor sores, yet was *full of tokens* about the heart." (Ward, p. 241). Here we see that "full of tokens" was a common expression, as a patient is still said to have the small pox "very full;" and not only that tokens were much more agreeable in the purse than on the person, but that when a house was full of tokens, there was no other resource than to cry, "Lord, have mercy upon us!"

The second of our anecdotes relates to the "*Dandy-pratt*," a diminutive coin, the value of which I have not found; but, being of "silver," it was probably more than equivalent to the mite, "two of which made one farthing."

"Sir Richard Bingham was a man eminent both for spiritt and martiall knowledge, but of a very small stature; and, understanding that a proper bigg-bon'd gentleman had traduc'd his little person, or Corpusculum, with the ignominious tearme of Dande-pratt: 'Tell him from me,' says he, 'that, when it comes to the tutch, he shall find there is as good silver in a Dande-pratt (which is a very small kind of coine) as in a brodd-fac't groate.'"

"This eminent commander, who has here anticipated Burns's idea—

> 'The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> A man 's the gold for a' that—'

was the second son of Thomas Bingham, Esq., of Bingham-Melcombe, in the county of Dorset, by Alice, daughter of Thomas Croker, Esq., the ancestor of the present Earl of Lucan and of Baron Clanmorris. He was one of the most celebrated

Captains of the age in which he lived, being at the time of the Spanish Armada one of Queen Elizabeth's military council, and afterwards, for his valuable services in Ireland, constituted Marshall of that kingdom and General of Leinster.

"Camden, in his Remains, p. 188 (1637), tells us: 'King Henry the Seventh stamped a small coine called dandy prats;' and the name dandiprat is also commonly applied to any dwarf or little person; and Leake, in his 'Historical Account of English Money,' p. 270, speaking of the state of the coinage at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, says, 'that besides the Queen's adulterate coin, they had, *first*, broad-faced groats, coined originally for fourpence, but now worth eightpence,' &c. It may be supposed that these '*broad-faced groats*' were those on which 'the bluff visage' of Harry the Eighth appears in all its breadth."

The next anecdote has been entitled as representing a "Queen at a discount."

"As Queen Elizabeth passed the streets in state, one in the crowde cried first, 'God blesse your *Royall* Majestie!' and then, 'God blesse your *Noble* Grace!' 'Why, how now!' sayes the queene, 'am I tenne groates worse than I was e'en now?"

"Ten groats was the difference between the value of the old 'ryal,' or 'royal,' and 'the noble:' the former passing for 10*s.* and the latter for 6*s.* 8*d.* Our ancestors used anciently to reckon by the mark, which was 13*s.* 4*d.* instead of the pound; and the value of all their coins was consequently fixed with a view to computations by the mark.

"The anecdote shows the period of the change of the term 'your Grace' to 'your Majesty,' as addressed to the English sovereign. The former title had been customary in the earlier Tudor reigns, the latter became exclusively used shortly after the accession of the House of Stuart, and has since maintained its ground. The Emperor Charles the Fifth was the first crowned head that assumed the appellation of 'Majesty,' which was soon afterwards adopted by the other European sovereigns."

The last extract with which I shall trouble you from Sir Nicholas Lestrange's Anecdotes, relates to the silver coinage of Ireland.

"There was," he says, "a good merry fellow, and *musicall*,

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but naturally somewhat *doubled about the backe;* and his comrades usually called him their ninepence, and their harper; because commonly ninepences are a little *buckled* to distinguish in their currancie up and downe, least they passe (some being bigge, some small) for a sixpence or a shilling."

The harper was the familiar name of the shilling of Ireland, which bore the figure of a harp, as the emblem of that country. Its value was nine-pence, or, "a fourth part less than sterling English." (Ruding ii. 253.) Nevertheless, these coins afforded to the dishonest a frequent opportunity of cheating. In Heywood's play of "The Faire Maide of the Exchange," such an incident is introduced:—

"*Bow.*—Thou wert by when I bought these gloves of a wench.

Crisp.—That's true; they cost thee *an English shilling*—marry it follows in the text that your *shilling* proved but a *harper*, and thou wert shamefully arraigned for it.

Bow.—Good; but I excused myself.

Crisp.—True,—that thou thought'st it had been a shilling: marry, thou had'st never another to change it."

Ben Jonson, in his Masque of the Metamorphosed Gypsies, speaks of "the *harper* that was gathered amongst us to pay the piper." And in Dekker's play of Sir Thomas Wyat, on one of the insurgents quitting the party, the captain observes:

> "His name was *Harper*—let him go: desert us!
> Henceforth the *harpers*, for his sake, shall stand
> But for plain *ninepence* throughout all the land."

The ninepence was a coin formerly much favoured by faithful lovers in humble life, as a token of their mutual affection. It was for this purpose broken into two pieces, and each party preserved with care one portion, until, on their meeting again, they hastened to renew their vows. It is not improbable that the circumstance of these coins having been previously "buckled" or bent, for the reason given in Lestrange's anecdote, led to their being chosen for this purpose, as after being bent they would be disposed to break.

Butler, in Hudibras, compares the cracked wit of Ralpho, the squire, to a "commendation ninepence:"—

> "Like commendation ninepence crookt,
> With 'to and from my love' it lookt."
>
> Part I. Canto I.

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Gay has also in two places alluded to this custom,—

"————————A ninepence bent,
A token kind to Bumkinet is sent."
Fifth Pastoral, l. 129.

In his play entitled, "The What d'ye Call it," acted about the year 1725, two rustic lovers are introduced, of whom the man, Filbert, is about to be impressed, "to serve his gracious Majesty in war." Breaking the ninepence is here introduced as a substitute for love-letters:—

Kitty.—"When gentlefolks their sweethearts leave behind,
They can write letters, and say something kind;
But how shall Filbert unto me indite,
When neither I can read, nor he can write?
Yet, Justices, permit us e'er we part,
To break this ninepence, as you've broke our heart.
Filbert.—(*breaking the ninepence*)
As this divides, thus are we torn in twain,
Kitty.—(*joining the pieces*)
And as this meets, thus may we meet again."

Thus, as a lawyer might remark, the broken ninepence performed the office of the old indenture, of which both counterparts were formerly written on one skin of parchment.

"If in the course of their amour (it is stated in the Connoisseur, No. 56) the mistress gives the dear man her hair wove in a true lover's knot, or *breaks a crooked ninepence* with him, she thinks herself assured of his inviolate fidelity."

By persons of ampler means, a piece of gold was sometimes broken in the same manner, of which some examples will be found in Brand's Popular Antiquities under the head of Betrothing Customs.

There is an old proverbial expression in which a person is said to reduce "a noble to ninepence." It has rather been my aim, in the preceding observations, to exalt the ninepence to the rank of a noble in our Numismatic annals; and if the Society should think I have been in any degree successful, it will afford me much pleasure. J. G. N.

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XVII.

RESEARCHES RELATIVE TO THE CONNECTION OF THE DEITIES REPRESENTED UPON THE COINS OF EGYPTIAN NOMES WITH THE EGYPTIAN PANTHEON.

By Samuel Birch, Esq.

Some period has elapsed since the discoveries and labours of Dr. Young, M. Champollion, and their school, have decyphered the names of the various deities whose types are found in the different temples scattered along the valley of the Nile; but, up to the present period, no attempt has been made to link the Egyptian mythology, as it stands now revealed, with the divinities and symbols connected with the long suite of currency which issued from the mints of Alexandria, and the Nomes of Egypt. Isis and Osiris, with an occasional Horus, were the circle of explanations to the old medallic writers upon this subject, and all attributes by a stretch of imagination, called flowers of the lotus, except where the type was too plain to admit of such an explanation. It is but just to add to these observations, that the Greek authorities were searched[1] into with a zeal far greater than their relative value, and that many of the works abound in reveries and conclusions, supported by a depth of extraneous erudition, which the progress of modern science more unexpectedly than agreeably refutes.

It will, perhaps, add an additional archæological value to these coins, at present scarcely regarded with interest, except by the colonial collector, to shew the analogy of many of the types with myths purely Egyptian; and, passing by

[1] See Vaillant, Numi Egyptii. Zoëga Mus. Borg. tom. i. Numi Ægyptii, 4to. 1787.

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all those in which the hand of the artist has copied the efforts of Greek art, or Roman personifications, to trace the type to its origin, and to afford some theory of the principles by which the hybrid race, under whom and for whom they were executed, were guided in their selection. It is unnecessary here to quote the "pliant spirit of polytheism," a fact and a truism to account for the liberty in local governments enjoyed under the Roman power; nor is it intended to enter into any discussion upon the money of the Lagidæ; still less do the limits of the present paper, or research, profess to explain every type with a facility usually proportioned to its rashness.

The coins of Egypt are at present divided into two classes, the first exceedingly extensive in the variety of its sizes and types—that of Alexandria commences with Cæsar, and gradually becomes extinguished under the lower empire;—the second, far more confined, but embracing several types of the very highest interest, appears intercalated into the monetary system, at the time of Trajan and the Antonines, and disappears in a manner as unexpected as its appearance—it is that of the Nomes, or chief districts and towns of the country. For a very ample account of both, we have only to turn to the Museum Borgianum, tom. i. Numi Egyptii. 4to. Rom. 1787, edited by George Zoëga, and the Medailles des Nomes de l'Egypte, 4to. Par. 1822, by M. Tochon D'Annecy, who has united with indefatigable research, a considerable degree of critical acumen relative to the false coins which had gradually crept into the series. Besides these, several other writers have published different specimens of this currency, especially M. Sestini. But none of them have touched the question of the mythology—the earlier ones because little was known, and the later, through that distrust with which

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the enunciation of discovery is universally received. They are, however, often capable of a solution, when viewed through this medium, which otherwise they cannot present, and they confirm the truth of points previously fixed, by giving a kind of circumstantial evidence to what has already been elicited. In point of execution, the majority of them are wretched: not more so than the colonial currency in general; but still often so indifferently has the die been cut, that no ingenuity, without a knowledge *à priori*, could discover what many of the attributes and symbols are meant to indicate. The animals, for example, which many of the deities hold in their hand, often appear beyond the pale of zoology, and the head-attire, the distinctive and specific mark of the divinity represented, so disguised, contracted, or changed, as to be all but unassignable. In the adoption, however, of certain forms, the artist seems to have been guided by rule. The two principal types of Egyptian[2] deities, it is well known, appear under two forms of dress; either as wearing the short garment, called *shenti*,[3] which covered the loins, or else with the body swathed, or enveloped in bandages from the neck to the feet, a form called in the ritual *mors em hbôs*,[4] "enveloped in clothes." The Greek artists substituted, for the first form, a soldier in his ordinary dress, and the lower part of the paludamentum;[5] and for the second, the augural or priestly attire, consisting of the ample toga, with the cucullus or cowl upon the head. As it would have been

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[2] See Wilkinson Mat. Hieroglyph. Champ. Pantheon Egyptien. Monumens de l'Egypte et de la Nubie, folio. Paris. Rosellini, Tavole. folio, M. R. passim.

[3] Rosellini Monumenti Civili Parte Seconda, tom. ii. p. 411, *et seq.*

[4] Ritual Cadet. Rouleau de Papyrus trouvé e Thebes. fo. Par. 1805.

[5] Rosinus Roman. Antiq. p. 713.

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shocking to the Greek population to have represented the deities with the animal head, to which nothing could be paralleled in the Greek or Roman pantheon, they adopted the expedient of placing the sacred animal in the hand of the deity, in the same manner as the eagle appears in the hand of Jupiter. The type of the Nome generally presented the figure or emblem of the chief deity of the district, especially where it had received a Greek name indicative of the local worship; and if the deity was not figured on the type, the living emblem or animal type of the deity appeared, and the application of these principles affords considerable clue to the deities represented. The same observations apply to the female forms upon the currency, whether they are the principal or parhedrals of the chief deity, except that they appear clothed in the ordinary peplon, which approaches sufficiently near to the basou[6] or long tunic of the Egyptians. They also occasionally hold upon their hands their living emblems. The gom or koucoupha[7] sceptre, emblem of power not purity, was indicated by the long staff or hasta pura. The cap or head-attire of the Egyptian pantheon forming the *specific*, as the head generally did the *generic* mark, and not being repugnant to the principles already laid down, was almost always placed upon the head, but often so imperfectly executed as to be difficult to decide upon, and the proportion of the head-ornament to the size of the form being far beyond the limits of symmetrical proportion, was reduced to a size more pleasing to the eye, which often rendered it less distinct, and the disk and horns often look very like a clumsy lotus of three

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[6] Champollion. Gram. Egypt. folio. Paris, 1838. p. 53.

[7] See my Observations on the Quarry Marks of the 1st Pyramid, in Drawings of the Pyr. of Gizeh, long folio. Messrs. Andrews and Perring. London, 1838.

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petals. The living emblems, or animals, are sufficiently distinct when they appear in the field as the principal subject; but, often owing to size and execution, not conusable when in the hands of the figures. The arts were evidently in the rapid progress of decay, and the hand of the foreigner had annihilated that which it could not appreciate, clothing Egyptian deities in Roman dresses, substituting his language for that of the country, and enacting all which conquest dare attempt when under the suspicion or fear of loss, unless it give the show of liberty.

The mode proposed is that of first examining the currency of the Nomes, many of whose fac-similes are found among the efforts of the Alexandrian mint, and then to review the differences and peculiar forms found upon that currency, many of which present the types of deities not seen upon the coins of the Nomes; the observations will follow the arrangement of M. Tochon, who has adopted a classification purely geographic, instead of the mixed alphabetic and geographic divisions of M. Mionnet.

Ombite Nome, 4th brass coin, *Ob.* head of Hadrian, laureated; no legend. Ꞵ. a crocodile OMBIT·L·IA. The crocodile was the living emblem of the deity, Sebek, Savak, or Sabak, one of the forms of the Egyptian Seb, or Saturn, the father of Osiris and Isis, the youngest of the gods. This deity generally appears in the religious scenes with the head of a crocodile, and his determinative or tropic name is always formed by that animal seated on a pedestal in the shape of a propylon. Sebek seems to have been especially worshipped at Ombos. At the right side of the pronaos of the great temple of Ombos, is a dedication from Ptolemy Evergetes II. and his wife Cleopatra to "Sebek-ra, the great lord of Ombos, Keb (or Seb) father of the gods," &c. (Ch. Monum. Egypt. Pl. xcix.); and in

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the same locality, the god Sabak-ra is seated upon a throne at the head of a triad, composed of himself, the goddess Athor, and Khons, or Shons, facing another triad of Hor (Horus), Tsonenofre and Pnebto. On the other side he is accompanied by Athor and Pnebto, the son of Horus. He is always named in these scenes, "*Savak-ra, lord of Ombos, great god . . . . and Seb, the youngest of the gods.*" In relation with him, considered as the father of time, the months are represented personified under the forms of hippopotami, standing erect, with the tail of the crocodile upon the back, at the same place. It is clear from this, that the crocodile was worshipped at Ombos, not because Typhon assumed this form when he attempted to elude the pursuit of Horus,[8] but as the personification of time, from the mystical doctrine of numbers — living sixty years, gestating sixty days, laying sixty eggs, and having as many vertebræ;[9] and being, upon this account, identified with Seb, or Saturn, the father of Osiris and Isis. No instance, indeed, of Typhonic worship has as yet been found, and Plutarch appears to have confounded a popular tradition with a religious doctrine. In one of the chapters of the Ritual is a vignette, representing the hawk-headed deity, Hor, spearing a crocodile.[10] The crocodile is not restricted to the currency of Ombos, but appears among the small coins of the Alexandrian series.

Apollonopolites Nomos, Æ. 1. (Tochon. p. 55.) Rev. of Trajan, a military figure, standing looking to the right, in the paludamentum; in his right hand a hawk crowned in the pschent; in his left a long staff ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΗC. In accordance with the general principles already laid

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[8] Plutarch de Isid. et si Osirid. cap. 28—21.
[9] Ælian, x. c. 21, 24.
[10] Hieratic Ritual, Brit. Mus.

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down upon this medal, must be the figure of Har-si-esi, or Har-oëri in his Roman form. The identity of the type of Horus[11] (a generic name of several deities) is well recognised, and the city of Apollonopolis Magna, the present Edfou,[12] is known to be termed, in hieroglyphics, the region of Har-hat.[13] Two other coins of the same nome represent a male bearded figure, holding in one hand a hawk, emblem of Horus, and the other raised to the back of the head. In one, this appears like a form of Jupiter; and, although it may refer to Har-hat, it possibly represents some parhedral deity of the same temple. The most prominent among these are Harsaphes,[14] Ra, and Khons. Harsaphes, as the form of Amon, in the swathed dress of Osiris, and identified with Horus, through his titles of Amon-ra,[15] the victorious son of Isis and Osiris may possibly be indicated, and the attitude of the hand is exactly the same. Khons Ioh, the *deus lunus*, or lunar Hercules, was also worshipped in the same nome, and the train of solar hawk-headed types, all directly or indirectly refer to one principle, the essence of light from the eyes[16] of the hawk on account of their brilliancy symbolising this principle. Besides, there is a female deity standing, holding in one hand a hawk, and having upon her head an ornament, apparently the disk and horns. Among the female deities

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[11] Ælian. x. c. 14. Macrob. Saturn, p. 276. 12mo. Ven. ap. Joh. Gryphium.

[12] Descr. de l'Egypte, tom. i. pl. 57, where a train of deities adore Har-hat.

[13] Ch. Grammaire Egyptien.

[14] Descr. de l'Egypte, tome i. pl. 95. 5. [15] Ch. passim.

[16] Ch. Mon. de l'Egypte, et de la Nub. "where Horus is said to illuminate the world with the splendour of his eyes." A cartouche calls him "the ray illuminating the upper and lower world." Desc. de l'Egypte.

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most prominent in this temple are, Isis, having upon her head the disk and horns, and Maut, wearing the pschent, a superior form of Isis; but the female deity most in connection with Harsiesi is Tsonenofre,[17] the good sister, or Egyptian Diana, the second personage of the Ombite triad, wearing the disk and horns like Isis. To either of these forms the figure in this coin may be referred; and the whole subject of the temple, to the astronomical projection of the heavens upon the ceiling, refers to the Sun, Phre or Hor.[18] Other coins represent a male figure standing looking to the right, holding in his left hand a hawk crowned by the pschent, and in his right a long sceptre; round his loins a tunic. No form of Horus occurs with the disk and horns; which appears to have been peculiarly attributed to female deities, and the symbol is of uncertain signification.

On one unique medal of the Latopolites Nomos, is found the fish latus, the more important as it affords us some clue to the discovery of the fish so called, which agrees with the Lates Niloticus of Cuvier, and Perca Nilotica of Latreille.[19] This fish is said to have been dedicated to the goddess Minerva, probably one of the forms of Neith. In the paintings of the hypoges the latus occurs, but the small amulets of fish in the various museums seem to represent a species of the cyprinus, the silurus, the chætodon, and the oxyrinchus or oxyringus. The latus may, however, be indicated in the Ritual, by the term *rami*: if this is not a general expression for fish, as in the chapter, of going to the Hall of the Two Truths, the deceased affirms that he has not caught the *rami*, or oxyringi,[20] where the two species must have

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[17] Ch. Panth. Egyp. [18] Tochon, p. 58.
[19] Cuvier, Regne Anim. vol. ii. p. 137.
[20] Ritual Descr. de l'Egypte. Ch. Gr. Eg.

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been sacred. On another medal, a figure similar to Neptune,[21] stands holding the fish, which shews it was dedicated to a male deity, perhaps Hapi-moou, or Chnouphis, both of whom appear in the great temple of Esnah, the ancient Latopolis.[22] On the head, indeed, of the figure, is a small distinctive ornament very similar to the two tall plumes or rows of feathers on the cap of Amon-ra.

The coins of the Hermonthites Nomos represented an old bearded figure holding a hasta pura, and an animal, called by M. Tochon an ichneumon,[23] but more probably the hawk-headed dragon, similar to the griffin, or rather vivern, an emblem sacred to the deity Month-ra, and which appears in the temple of Erment, seated upon a chest, and crowned with the otf, or head-dress of Osiris.[24] The human figure may possibly be referred to the grotesque or leonine form of Phthah, if such assignation can be allowed to the type so described by M. M. Champollion and Rosellini.[25] A severer criticism would assign it to a form of Typhon;[26] but this unaccountable being seems allied with the Harsaphic form of Amon, or Amon-Osor.[27]

Those of the Coptites Nomos,[28] represent Saturn holding the hasta, or harpe in one hand, and in the other, the sacred animal of the Nome, on one coin represented as a stag, erroneously for a goat, which, in the other instance, appears, contrary to the opinion of Ælian, of the

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[21] Tochon, p. 60.

[22] Descr. de l'Egypte, A. I. pl. 82. Ch. Mon. de l'Egypte, tome ii. pl. cxlv. *bis*.

[23] Tochon, p. 67.

[24] Descrip. de l'Egypte, A. I. pl. 95.

[25] Champollion Monumens du Musée Charles X. p. 3. Rosellini Monumen, civ. tom. iii. p. 17.

[26] Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. pl. 51. Part I.; he is there called "the beast *Hei* or *Bas*."

[27] See Synopsis Brit. Mus. Case A. sh. 1.

[28] Toch. p. 79.

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female sex; on the head of Saturn is the disk and horns: and this personification must point to the worship of Chnoumis, or Chnouphisra, as the principal deity of Coptos.

On the coins of Tentyris,[29] we find Athor, or Venus, with her hawk, emblem of her maternity of Haroëri.

The Diospolitan types point to Amon-ra,[30] and the Egyptian ram, his living emblem: the female form upon one may represent Maut, or Muth, the Egyptian Juno, the wife of Amoun, and second personage of the Egyptian triad.

The Panopolites Nomos[31] gives an ancient figure, holding an ichneumon, or rather shrew-mouse, *mus araneus*, in one hand, and victoriola on the other—one type presents the shrew-mouse alone. The victoriola, probably, is the peculiar cornucopiæ-shaped object held in the hands of deities, called ægis by M. Champollion. The authority of Herodotus would assign this to the god Chnouphis, the αἰγωπρόσωπος type of Amoun-ra, and the shrew-mouse is said to have been dedicated to Buto, a name not recognised in hieroglyphics, but probably a form of Athor, or Maut, who, under the form of Anoucis, or Anouke, accompanies Chnouphis in the texts; but two small bronze figures of this animal, refer to Har, lord of Shatem,[32] which coincides with neither of the ancient authorities, and indicates some form of Har, or Horus, possibly in connection with Ra and Re, as Chnouph-ra: at all events, it is difficult to believe that Seb, the true Egyptian Saturn, can be meant.

The coins of Antæopolis represent Hercules and hawk,

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[29] Tochon, p. 82. [30] Tochon, pp. 72, 73.

[31] Tochon, pp. 90, 91.

[32] See small figure of Dr. Lee's Collection, and Brit. Mus., Case F. 2.

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or a military figure and hawk. The hawk appears to have been applied exclusively to solar types and to Horus, and the confused accounts relative to this city seem to point distinctly to Horus, who, as the avenger of his father, the destroyer of the Egyptian Typhon, under his various transformations, was compared by the Greeks with their Hercules; for the other types represent a crocodile in the hand of a figure in a pallium on this animal by itself, here evidently emblematic of a typhonic form, of which the Egyptian Antæus was a metamorphosis.

At Hypsele is a female deity, holding in her hand a sheep, or ram, indicating, probably, a prevalence of the worship of Amoun-ra in that locality; while at Lukopolis[33] and Kunopolis, an old male figure appears holding in one hand the Egyptian dog, or jackal emblem of Anubis, or Hop-hioue of M. Champollion; but figures of Anubis, with any distinctive ornament, are excessively rare.

On those of Aphroditopolis,[34] the city of Athor, the Egyptian Venus, is a female figure, holding in her right hand, what M. Tochon calls an uncertain emblem, but evidently a hawk placed upon some object; this may be the hawk standard of the Ement so frequently placed upon the head of this goddess in her quality of "*Regent of the happy West.*"

The larger coins of Hermopolis,[35] present an aged figure of Hermes with his head bound with the strophium, or fillet, holding in one hand a caduceus, and in the other a small seated mummied figure, which M. Tochon imagines may be a cynocephalus. On the head of the figure is the

[33] At the ruins of Lycopolis Syout are no figures of deities.—See Descrip. de l'Egypte.

[34] Tochon, loc. sup. cit. p. 110.

[35] Tochon, p. 116, loc. sup. cit. p. 117.

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attire called otf, frequently found upon figures of Thoth, and characteristic of his office in the Noutehir or Hades, especially of the judgment-scene in the Hall of the Two Truths;[36] another type gives a similar ancient head like the Hermes of the most ancient Greek work, wearing another species of head ornament, commonly found upon the head-dress of this deity, and Pnebto[37], the son of Horus; before this head is also an ibis. The last type gives a cynocephalus, seated, having on its head a disk imperfectly drawn, or developed, for a dichotomised one of the moon, of which luminary and the lunar Thoth, this animal was the peculiar emblem. The small figure in the hands of the first Thoth, though possibly a cynocephalus, may also be a small seated figure of the goddess Thmei or Truth, of which Thoth was the scribe in the Amenti. The distinctive emblem of the ostrich feather on the head of the goddess, does not, however, appear on the coin, and Thoth occasionally holds in one hand and upon a basket,[38] the left symbolic eye indicative of the moon, but the choice lies between the cynocephalus and figure of Truth, not so easily decided, owing to the bad execution of the Græco-Egyptian mint, and the medal appears to be much rubbed in that place; the ibis upon the standard is also half obliterated.

The coins of the Oxyrinchite Nome present the Athene[39] Nikephora of the Greeks, probably a form of the Egyptian Minerva, but the bipennis which appears upon these coins is difficult to parallel: and though the whole may typify the Neith-akhor, or Nitocris of the Greeks, the absence of the

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[36] See Hieroglyphic Ritual, passim.

[37] Ch. Mon. Egypt, tome i. pl. lxxxii.

[38] See also Obelisk B. M. 2. This is called the "guardian of truth."

[39] Toch. loc. sup. cit. pp. 119, 120.

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oxyrinchus, so commonly found in the Texts, and mentioned in the Ritual as impious to catch, is extraordinary.

The Heracleopolites[40] Nomos gives the head, club, and figure of Hercules, and the deity himself holding in his hand the Cerberus, according to M. Tochon, but apparently some very indistinct object; and in every instance the object is too indistinct to judge. The opinions of Strabo seem to justify the supposition that the worship of Horus prevailed; for the ichneumon and crocodile were here adored, and the medal of the Nome, cited by M. Tochon, gives a figure of Harpocrates, or Khons, under Greek attributes.

To the Arsinoites,[41] Nomos scarcely an observation could be added, except that the serpent upon the head of the portrait of the foundress, is the uræus or sort of cobra di capella, and that the male figure with the disk and horns, holding the portrait, is probably the god Sebek, or Savakra, as other reverses exhibit the crocodile, his living emblem, for reasons before stated.

The Memphite[42] coins exhibit Apis and Pasht, or Bubastes; the Merephtah or Hephaistoboule, holding in one hand a snake, the uræus, and accompanied by the bull Apis. This may possibly be Isis; but Pasht, the Egyptian Diana, in her character of Nemesis, had occasionally uræi dedicated to her. Thus, on a plinth of one of these reptiles, in case 4, shelf 2, Brit. Mus., is the pedestal and coiled tail of an uræus, and on the edge of the plinth an inscription to Oeri-hek, or the great avenger, one of the titles of Pasht, from "*Amounem-ophth, who give celebration to Oeri-hek.*" Other types give the bust of a deity in the tall plumes and disk, with the vulture-shaped klaft or head-

[40] Toch. loc. sup. cit. 121—126. [41] Toch. pp. 127—130.
[42] Toch. loc. sup. cit. pp. 134, 135.

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dress common to female deities, or a female with some indistinct head attire, holding the victoriola and serpent, with the modius upon the head, which might refer to Isis, as the Thermuthis, or great mother of the Greeks, which has been confounded with the deadly effects attributed to the bite of the reptile.

The coins of Heliopolis, or San,[43] present Apollo, to indicate Ra, holding in his hand some animal, apparently a goat, but difficult to determine satisfactorily from the plate of M. Tochon; and no quadruped has as yet been found dedicated to this deity, except in his other characters of Chnouphis and Amôn; while the only solar type named upon the obelisk at San, is Month-ra, or Mandoulis.

Pelusium has a female head, with disk, and a triple conical crown, which, from the fruit upon one reverse, very similar to the heglyg or persea,[44] is the bust of some form of Athor,[45] the Egyptian Venus, to whom this fruit was sacred.

The Sethroites Nomos is the only one which has a figure with a hawk's head, and upon it the disk and horns (?) or possibly lunar disk; and as the capital of this Nome was Heracleopolites Parva, Hor or Horus is probably indicated by the figure.

The Tanites[46] Nomos is too indistinct to give any opinion upon; and though the animal in the hand of the figure in the Neout[47] Nome looks very like a calf, some of Hamlet's guesses would equally apply. Serapis is not the figure which bears more resemblance to a female than a male form.

The Mendesian[48] Nome gives the goat, and Mendes, wearing upon his head the otf, and holding in his hand the sacred animal; but Mendes is well known not to be found

[43] Rosellini, M. R. Tav. No. 25, a. b. 2.
[44] Balanites Ægyptiacus.
[45] Wilk. Mat. Har. Pl. xxiii. Toch. 153.
[46] Toch. p. 159. [47] Ibid. p. 161. [48] Ibid. pp. 161—168.

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in the hieroglyphics, and the goat-headed type refers to Chnouphis or Kneph, the deity, *par excellence*, and the chief of the other gods. The description of the head ornaments in M. Tochon are wrong as usual.

The ornament on the head-dress of the deity represented upon the currency of the Leontopolites Nomos is too indistinct to judge the particular form intended to be represented; and the lion is said by the Greek authorities to belong to Vulcan (Phthah) and the Sun (Ra), into the composition of which name it enters as a phonetic element. Its connection with Phthah is not distinct in any of the hieroglyphical scenes; and the authority of Champollion would rather assign it to Bubastes,[49] the Hephaistoboule, or Merephtah; and small figures of porcelain frequently have the lion placed under the feet of Nofre Thmou, or Nofre Atmou, the son of Phthah, and Merephtah. He may probably have been the tutelary deity of Leontopolis.

The animal in the hands of the figure of the Bubastite Nome is too indistinct to assign, while the name of the district would imply a prevalence of the worship of Pasht or Bubastes.

At the Athribites Nomos Athor again appears holding in one instance an indistinct animal, possibly her cow, and in the other a hawk apparently crowned in the upper part of the pschent.

The coins of the Prosopites Nomos present Khons or Hercules, not in his lunar type, but identified with Har or Horus, having on his head the triple conical attire, based on the horns of the goat and flanked by uræi. In one type a bird appears upon the club of the deity; and another type represents a bird upon the club alone. This bird

[49] Ch. Gr. Eg. p. 119. This assignation seems correct; the lion appears on the Sistrum dedicated to Athor, and at the throne of Pasht.—See case B, div. 4, Egyp. Room, Brit. Mus.

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is probably the swallow, or bird of evil augury, which appears before this god when seated at the prow of the boat of solar deities. In the Ritual, published by M. Cadet,[51] and subsequently in the Description de l'Egypte, in one of the vignettes of the chapters appears a drawing of a swallow, and the whole chapter refers to the mystic quality of the bird; as, "*I am the swallow—I am the swallow, I illuminate Selk, the daughter of the Sun . . . . . nourished with the scent of fire manifested in the abode of the sun;*" identifying the connection of this bird with solar deities, through his type of Horus; and it is possible that the gom, or sceptre of power, surmounted by the head of a koucoupha on the pedum, the crooked sceptre held in the hands of Osiris and Horus may be intended.

The Nome of Phtemphu[52] gives an old deity holding in his hands a small figure; but of what type is not readily distinguished. The name of the Nome would apparently indicate the worship of the god Phthah, but the precise type is difficult to recognise, as well as the object held in the right hand of a female figure standing, which bears most resemblance, in M. Tochon's drawing, to a basket, from which issues flame; but flame-headed deities are not only rare, but very inferior types in the Pantheon, and the coin is unfortunately in a bad state of preservation. If Phthah be the eponymous deity of the Nome, some form of Pasht, as Tafne, Menhi, Merephtah, or the deity named [53] is probably indicated.

At Xois,[54] a female deity appears holding in her hand some

[51] Papyrus trouvé à Thebes Cadet, Sect. 15.
[52] Toch. p. 187.
[53] Champollion, Mon. Egypt. Wilk. Mat. Hier, p. viii.
[54] Toch. p. 189.

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uncertain animal, which the other types would rather tend to prove to be a sheep or ram; in the other hand she holds a club, perhaps indicating the gom or koucoupha sceptre, which female deities hold as well as male. The other types have a ram with a disk upon its head, an emblem of the god Amoun and Chnouph-ra. The female deity should, therefore, be some parhedral of the two deities, as Maut, or Anouke, who, in another type, appears to represent Sate, the Egyptian Juno.

Busiris[55] presents a female deity, apparently a form of Isis, holding in one hand a serpent, and in the other a quadruped, possibly the cow, her living emblem; the head ornament may be the two tall plumes, but is of too small proportions to define accurately; while the evidence of the Greek authorities represents the Nome as dedicated to the worship of Osiris among other deities, and Osiris is the eponymous deity of the place.[56]

The military figure on the Sebennytes Nomos may possibly represent some warlike form of Bacchus, although I am not aware of any such recognised personification of the Greek Dionusos, or the Roman Bacchus, which upon one type is unarmed. M. Tochon very ingeniously sees this deity holding a bunch of grapes, the especial produce of the district. The animal at the feet of this figure is not a stag, as M. Tochon erroneously supposes, but the Egyptian hare, an animal dedicated to Osiris, Onnophris,[57] the Dionusus Luaios, the "opener of good," and the hare formed the ideographic initial of his name Onnofre. The identity[58] of Bacchus and Osiris is well known from the Greek authorities, and is

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[55] Toch. p. 190, loc. cit. Steph. de Urb. Βουσῖρις

[56] Toch. pp. 192—195. [57] Ch. Mus. de Charles X.

[58] Herod. 11. c.—Οσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. Diod. Sic. lib. i. Ἀπότε τῶν πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ τόπου Διόνυσον μετονομασθέντα.

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confirmed by the hieroglyphical texts, and the paintings of the hypogês;[59] the pard skin upon a pole, terminating in a basket being placed before this deity, and his priests[60] being clothed in a panther skin, while the hare was sacred to him, from mystic motives connected with its sonal value, especially as the Luios, or "loosener," if such etymology can be conceded to the Greek term. Connected with the Egyptian system is the Bacchic or Dionysiac conquest of India, in which characters the present form of Bacchus appears, if it be this god, in military attire; and Osiris in the texts is frequently called "the restrainer of the world;" or, the "lord of the East," in allusion to his martial qualities. One medal presents a bunch of grapes, symbolic of the produce of this Nome, at the Roman period. Although the cultivation of the vine extended to a remote epoch, yet the allusions to it in the texts are not common, as it was, perhaps, superseded by the use of beer.

The female deity of the Onuphites Nomos has no particular emblem, and the animal in her hand is apparently a crocodile, an animal dedicated to several deities, and appearing at the feet of the goddess Neith, and a deity, supposed to be Typhonian, but since demonstrated to be a form of Isis. A black bull is said to have been worshipped in the name of Onuphis, but the only animal on the coin of the Nome is too indistinct to assign satisfactorily.

The coins of Phtheneotes[61] present Harpocrates, the Egyptian Har-si-esi, the Horus, the son of Isis, seated upon the calix of the lotus, and two hawks, "*mitrés*," according to M. Tochon, but apparently, as far as the small and indistinct ornaments can be distinguished, having upon

[59] And Heles, Papyri, &c. passim.
[60] Ch. Gr. Eg. Ch. Musée de Charles X. p. 67. no. 50th.
[61] Toch. p. 202—204.

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their heads the entire pschent, which distinguishes these birds from those consecrated to other deities connected with light, as the hawks of Ra, Monthra, Ioh, &c. In another instance,[62] a naked figure holds in each hand an animal too unsatisfactorily engraved to attempt to assign.

The Saites[63] Nomos gives us only the figure of the Athenian Minerva, indicative of the goddess, Neith, who was particularly cultivated there, as all the monuments of the XXVI. or Saite dynasty, who made this town their capital, affirm: in the lower world, indeed, she was frequently called the "mistress of Sais;" and the worship of this type seems to have been carried from Egypt to Athens.[64] The owl does not appear to be the living emblem of the Egyptian inventress of the sciences, although of the Athenian.

Naucratis, evidently a Greek name for some Egyptian city, presents indications of the worship of Pasht or Bubastes, and Isis, as is evident from the serpent held in the hands of the female deities on the coins; and the representation of the Tesoro Britannico of Haym. tome ii. p. 206, must be false, for the hawk in the hands of Anubis is a combination unparalleled in any Egyptian painting. This hawk, from the grotesque and caricature engraving of Haym, *probably* had upon its head, the pschent, indicative of its being the living emblem of Har-si-esi, and the head ornament of the brutalised deity may be meant for the disk and horns; the head, if animal, to correspond, should be that of a hawk, and the whole represent one of the solar types. A greater libel was never perpetrated upon a coin.

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[62] Toch. p. 204. [63] Ibid. Toch. p. 206.
[64] M. Etienne de Quatremere, Mem. Geogr. sur Egypte, tom. i. p. 366.

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The modius upon the head of the female deities of M. Tochon represents the similar-shaped object entwined by a row of vertical uræi, which is seen upon the head of Isis, the great mother, and the head-dress of the asp in one specimen of the Alexandrian[65] mint as the reverse of Trajan appear crowned with the upper part of the pschent, called the shaa, or elevated, and the oeit, or white crown, of which region the goddess Soaven, or Seben, was the especial mistress. On other coins forming reverses of Trajan and Hadrian, the same asp appears distinguished from the uræus, and facing it to distinguish it from the ordinary uræus.

The coin of the Metelites Nomos,[66] though small, appears to indicate that the worship of Harsiesi there prevailed, as the elements of a pschent are visible in the engraving of M. Tochon on the head of the hawk, on one of the reverses of that district. The ichneumon at Letopolis, which occupies the whole reverse, or appears in the hand of a female deity, is a rare instance of this animal in Egyptian painting or sculpture, its appearance being limited to a few scarce amulets;[67] while the specific deity, who is the equivalent of Leto in the Egyptian pantheon, is not satisfactorily recognised.

Gynæcopolis[68] presents us with a female figure, holding in her hand an indistinct quadruped; and although Athor, the Egyptian Venus, was probably the patron deity of the city, the only divinity that I have recognised as the "regent of women,"[69] in the hieroglyphical texts is the

[65] Zoega, Mus. Berg. Numi. Egyptii, has engraved specimens. See also Cabinet of Brit. Mus. A serpent, not the uræus, enters into the phonetic name of Sate.

[66] Toch. p. 219. [67] Ch. Mus. Ch. X. Animaux Sacrés.

[68] Toch. p. 225. [69] Sep. Box. Salt's Orig. Collection, B. M.

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goddess Nephthys, who, upon a sepulchral box is called "mistress of women, Sothis, or the dog-star," a title usually appropriated to Isis: the living emblem of Nephthys, has not as yet been discovered.

At the Menelaites Nomos, a type of Horus Harpocrates was worshipped, to which it would be difficult to find an Egyptian parallel; the bust of the deity holding his finger to his mouth is united to the body of a crocodile. This union is one of those which did not exist during the purity of the Egyptian worship under the native monarchs, but is allied to the Pantheic forms which appeared during its decline, and the name of the Nome itself cannot be of very ancient date. The alliance of Harpocrates with the crocodile is at present far from explicable, as the Texts represent him slaying this animal, a tradition which the inhabitants of Apollonopolis practically preserved in contradistinction to the reverence paid to the animal at Ombos; and the type of the Menelaites can receive no sound explanation from any of the ancient monuments. The ornament on the head of Horus is the pschent, not the persea, as supposed by M. Tochon.

The last Nome in the work, that of Mareotes,[70] presents an old bearded figure, similar to Jupiter, standing, having upon his head the disk and horn, and holding in his hand an animal apparently a ram, indicative of the type of Chnouph-ra, or Amoun, the local deity; and this closes the list of the coins of the Nomes of Egypt, one of the most extraordinary and least known of the colonial series. The British Museum, although very rich in this series, having specimens of the Nomes and cities Arsinoites, Coptites, Diopolites, Hermopolites, Leontopolites, Memphis, Mendesius, Menelaites, Oxyrinchites, Pelusium, Prosopites,

[70] Toch. p. 238.

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Sethroites, and Tanis, has not one which has escaped the vigilance of M. Tochon, who sent for casts of all the coins existing in the national cabinets of Europe. On these coins the erudition of a Zoëga and a Vaillant have been expended with the inadequate sources of the Greek authorities. The materials now existing in Europe, and the hieroglyphical researches of M. Champollion, and his followers in the paths of discovery, shed a new light upon the subject. All is far from cleared, but as much as can be done towards a subject, hitherto untouched in this light, has been, in the present memoir, to the humble capability of the writer, and while it is trusted that it may prove of interest to those acquainted with the creditable labours of M. Tochon, it is also with the hope of exciting future inquiries to a deeper analysis of the representations on these coins. The obscurity of such subjects is but a fresh stimulus to exertion, and the barrier to the understanding of Egyptian myths has at length been thrown down, and allowed an appeal to be made from the traditions of the Greek authors to the monuments and arcana of the inhabitants of the Nile.

XVIII.

COIN OF MAGNESIA, WITH THE HEAD OF CICERO.

My dear Sir,

I have the honour of calling your attention to a coin which, although not unedited, is still of such high importance in an archæological point of view, as to justify a re-engraving in your journal. It is that struck in honour of Cicero by the town of Magnesia a Sipylo, and which has been already edited and alluded to by Fulvius Ursinus, Pedrusi, Winckelman, Cousinery, Mionnet, and other me-

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dallic writers. A specimen of this die has recently passed into the cabinets of the Museum, which differs considerably from that engraved by M. Mionnet,[1] and the features especially vary, in being generally more composed and less juvenile, and the nose being more decidedly aquiline, while the position of the letters on the obverse is rather different; a circumstance the more important, if the engraving of Mionnet is correct, as it shews that the Museum specimen has been issued from another die than that of the French collection; an additional proof of the veracity of these disputed coins, which have incurred the censure of some of the most distinguished of antiquaries. As far as the medal is a work of art, little doubt can exist of the truth of execution, and the only question now is, whether it can be considered as offering a true portrait of the prince of Roman orators. It differs from the bust of the villa Mattei, mentioned by Winckelman,[2] in not representing the head as bald, and as the nose, upper and lower lip, with the chin, of this bust, have been restored, apparently from the forged denarius[3] with the laureated

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[1] Mionnet, Med. Grecques, Supp. tom. vii. pl. xi. 2.

[2] Histoire de l'Art, vi. c. v. d.

[3] Lambecius Bibliothec. Cæs. Vindobon. folio, lib. ii. p. 478. Ed. 1769. This bust is said to have been dug up in the Horti Cœliani. The denarius soon became known. Jac. Gronovius calls it "*perfidissima Moneta*" et lauri inusitata forma quam ne Asiaticus quidem nummus illi tribuit. Ciceron, Oper. Lugdun. Bat. 1692.

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head, and M·TVLLIVS·CICERO. R. MINERVE—Minerva seated. It is more than doubtful whether the bust of this collection was ever intended for a portrait of the orator. The Asiatic coin was first edited by Fulvius Ursinus,[4] and subsequently by Tristanus.[5] One specimen was found by Cousinery, near the ruins of Magnesia, in Lydia itself; and this agrees in all the essential particulars with the coin of the Museum and the one in the cabinet of Mr. Burgon. A description was sent to Eckhel,[6] who, *ex-cathedrâ*, pronounced it to be *adulterinos partus*,[7] from an erroneous description of M. Cousinery, an opinion in which he was followed and supported by Liebe, in his Gotha Numaria, and others. Liebe, indeed, states, that the medal "νοθείας[8] *laboret suspicione.*" Pedrusi, however, with better judgment, had pronounced the medal to be true from personal inspection at the cabinet of Parma; and Winckelman had already inclined to that opinion. In this country, Fosbroke, in his Encyclopedia of Antiquities, has engraved the one existing in the monastery of La Close, at Ravenna, which is totally unlike either the engraving of Mionnet, or the specimens already cited, for the original engraving from which it was taken must have been made by some one who mistook the detrition of the hair of the head, on the exposed surface of the coin, for baldness. The whole contour of the features is totally dissimilar, and the remarks, as well as references of the Encyclopædist, are not confirmed by the specimens under consideration. While no medal

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[4] Paciaudus, Anim. philol., p. 50.
[5] Comm. Hist. tom. ii. p. 429.
[6] Magazin. Encyclopedique. 1808. 8vo. Paris. tom. i. p. 1.
[7] Eckhel, Num. Vet. v. 1. p. 327.
[8] Goth. Num. ch. v. p. 185, No. 27.

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has more excited the spirit of controversy, none has excited a greater degree of interest for the portrait on the obverse, which, in spite of the laboured efforts of M. Cousinery, must still be attributed to the prince of orators, and the greatest civilian of the century preceding the Christian era. I have in vain endeavoured to trace any similitude to the features of Julius Cæsar, which seems to have haunted the French Savant to the bias of his better judgment. The expression, contour, profile, hair, and whole disposition, at once agrees with the epoch of Augustus: and it is, at the same time, sufficiently distinct from the portraits of either that emperor or Cæsar, to entitle it to the confidence of being received as the veritable portrait of the orator. The peculiarity of the nose, which M. Cousinery had in his engraving affixed to his essay, distorted to a Julian twist, is modestly aquiline and not Grecian, as the engraving of Mionnet would lead one to suppose, and while the style of art in the first-cited author is not worthy of the coin, that of the second, although in coins of earlier execution effective, is, at the same time, ill calculated to afford the enquirer the distinct profile and necessary details of the portrait. Mr. Fosbroke had previously decided that the true portraits had a Grecian nose, which is not the fact on the Asiatick coins; and while his engraving is highly finished as a work of art, it unfortunately gives a portrait entirely spurious; for the coin of the monastery of La Close, at Ravenna, *must* have been a modification of those now extant in the cabinets of Europe; and the one belonging to the national collection is in that excellent state of preservation which enables me to speak with confidence as to the general tone of features. The correctness of this portrait is still farther attested by a gem, in Mariette, not the one with the letters M·T·C behind the head, which does

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not agree with the features of the medal, nor the one falsely attributed to Mæcenas, by Mariette, and to Cicero, by Fosbroke, but another head profile to the right, called "Teste d'un Romain du siècle d'Auguste, Amethyste," which exhibits the same features, trait for trait, and which is by far the best likeness published. Had M. Cousinery examined this engraving he would have felt convinced that the Magnesian medal was not a coin of Julius Cæsar; and it is hardly probable that the coincidence of the gem with the coin is accidental; indeed, it would have been nearer the truth to have compared the head with those of Augustus found on the colonial coins of Asia, as those of Tralles, &c. The difficulty of believing that the people of Magnesia issued this medal in honour of Cicero, is not so improbable as the learned Eckhel would have supposed; and the very passage which he cites against it, indicates that a design of that nature existed in Asia, and the necessity of a very strict relation indicated in the authors of antiquity is not necessary. It would be equally difficult to indicate the relations existing between Caius Asinius Gallus[9] and the town of Temnos, in Æolia, or of Vedius Pollio[10] and the inhabitants of Tralles; and here the very instances cited by M. Cousinery are not sure, for the "*tête nue d'Auguste*" may possibly be likenesses of the proconsuls and patrons of the Asiatic towns who adopted the nearest supposed likenesses they possessed; or if, in one instance, they used the head of the emperor, it does not follow that they did it in all. The municipal Greek towns enjoyed peculiar jurisdiction and privileges under their Roman masters, struck likenesses of

[9] See Mionnet, Supp. vol. vii. Tenmos. In some instances CEBACTOC is distinctly put behind the head. Eckhel. Num. Vet. Anecdot.

[10] Mag. Encycl. 1808, vol. i. p. 40.

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their especial patrons in the imperial family, and might, during the proprætorship of M. Quintus,[11] Cicero's brother, have issued this medal, while the particular position in which the orator stood with regard to a town, not in his proconsular jurisdiction, cannot at present be appreciated; and this very fact is an additional evidence in favour of the genuineness of the medal, as a forger would have preferred some town (supposing he had the knowledge displayed in this medal) in Cilicia, and what proves an embarrassment rather adds to the proof and the language of the reverse. The inscription is strictly of the period, απο Σιπυλου, being used and translated by Livy and Tacitus, and appearing on the medals till the time of Domitian, after which it seems to have been abandoned. From the period of 1598, A.D. till the present day, these coins have appeared in Europe, and been found in Asia, in various states of preservation, with letters differently placed, and allowed by experienced judges to be of ancient work.

SAMUEL BIRCH.

London, 12th September, 1839.

XIX.

LIST OF ROMAN COINS RECENTLY FOUND NEAR STROOD, IN KENT.

DEAR SIR,

IN the Autumn of last, and in the Spring of the present year, excavations were made for the foundations of some cottages, and also for the purpose of procuring gravel,

[11] Magnesia was in his jurisdiction.

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in a field called Church-field, lying on the banks of the Medway, between the town of Strood and a farm called the Temple. During the progress of the work, there has been discovered a variety of Roman remains, consisting of earthen vases, pateræ, rings for the finger, and bracelets in bronze, ligulæ, beads in coloured glass, and jet ornaments, with several human skeletons. These were deposited at depths varying from two to four feet. The vases and urns were generally found arranged in groups of three or four; those of the larger size and with wide mouths, containing, almost in every instance, burnt human bones, and frequently beads or some other appendages of the dress. On these objects it is not necessary at present to enlarge. I merely notice them cursorily, as serving to explain and illustrate the more legitimate subject of our investigation,—the examination of several hundred coins which have also been found scattered here and there among the urns and skeletons.

These are chiefly of large, second, and small brass (there being not above half a dozen specimens of denarii, and those in base metal), and extend from Antonia to Gratian, that is to say, to within some twenty or thirty years of the recal of the Roman legions from Britain.

With Hadrian the large brass are very numerous, as they are also of Antoninus Pius, and the emperors immediately sequent.

After Commodus, the large brass decrease in number. Only two or three specimens were found of the times of Severus, Severus Alexander, and of Gordianus Pius.

The small brass are most plentiful of Carausius, Allectus, and the Constantine family, from which period they decline numerically, and close with Gratian.

Almost all the large brass present the appearance of having been in circulation a very considerable time, for they are almost all defaced, not from oxidation or corrosion,

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but, as is plainly perceptible, from general friction previous to their deposit in this Ustrinum.

The second brass coin of Caracalla, with the reverse of a galley, is finely preserved; and the large brass of Gordian are in good condition.

The small brass are generally in perfect conservation, a circumstance indicative, perhaps, of their having been buried at periods less remote from the eras of their coinage.

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the facts I have briefly enumerated denote this spot to have been a Roman burial place. Its proximity to the high-road and to the town of Strood (which, together with Rochester, must be considered as being comprised in the Durobrovis of Roman Britain) fully decide its character and history.*

The coins do not furnish us with any very remarkable types, and, with the exception of one, are, I believe, all well known. This coin, however, is of great rarity and interest, and, I believe, of a type hitherto undiscovered, certainly unpublished.

It is of Carausius, in small brass.

Obv.—Radiated head of the Emperor to the right, the bust in the paludamentum, IMP · CARAVSIVS · P · AUG.

R.—LEG · IIXX · PRIMIG. In exergue, ML. A figure of the Capricorn to the right.

The twenty-second legion, surnamed Primagenia, and bearing, in common with at least six other legions, the badge of the Capricorn, was probably formed not long

* That it was in use during the greater portion of the period of Roman dominion, is to be inferred, not merely from the extensive range of the coins, but also from the fact of their having been found usually in series. At first those of the Constantine æra and subsequent, were disinterred, and, as the excavations proceeded, were superseded by those of Allectus and Carausius; after a while, the coins of Commodus, Antoninus, &c., abounded; and lastly were obtained those of the earlier emperors.

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prior to the time of Antoninus. By the Itinerary, it appears to have been composed of allied troops, and was quartered in Gaul and Belgium; six towns or places are named as stations in which were divisions of this legion. In several inscriptions given by Gruter and Ursinus, the title of Primigenia is affixed to this legion; but upon coins I can only find that it is expressed in one instance, and that is on a denarius of Severus. In the list of the legionary coins struck by Gallienus it does not occur, though such as have the LEG · XXII merely, are not uncommon.

This coin, therefore, must be allowed to possess the highest degree of interest, in recording a previously unknown or unauthenticated fact, namely, that the twenty-second legion, or at least one or more of its cohorts or battalions, sided with Carausius in his successful assumption of the imperial power in the province of Britain. Its evidence on this point is strengthened by the historical testimony, of this legion being composed of foreigners, that is to say, of Gauls and Britons; and thus constituted, would naturally be presumed to be among the first to support a leader whose recent military conquests had enriched themselves, and readily to join their fellow-countrymen in shaking off the yoke of foreign dominion.

I take this opportunity of publicly expressing my thanks to Messrs. Humphrey Wickham and Stephen Steele, of Strood, and to Mr. Charlton, of Chatham, for the polite and kind permission given me to form the accompanying list of the coins, all of which are in their possession.—I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,

Lothbury, May 22nd, 1839. CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

To Francis Hobler, jun., Esq.,
Secretary to the Numismatic Society.

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ANTONIA.

R. TI · CLAVDIVS · CAESAR · AVG. . . . . The emperor in the pontifical dress, standing to the left; in the right hand a simpulum. 2 brass.

CLAUDIUS.

One specimen in 2 brass, badly preserved.

NERO.

R. VICTORIA . . . . . Victoria marching to left, with wreath and palm branch. 2 brass.

VESPASIANUS.

No. 1. R. Eagle on globe; fine. 2 brass.
2. R. Another similar. 2 brass.
3. R. The Equitas type, corroded. Several more in bad condition.

DOMITIANUS.

R. Two specimens in second brass of the Fides and Moneta types.

NERVA.

R. LIBERTAS · PVBLICA. S · C. Liberty standing to the left, with cap in right hand, and hasta in left. 2 brass.

TRAJANUS.

One specimen much worn and illegible. 1 brass.

Pallas, seated on armour, holding in right hand a Victory, in left a hasta. 1 brass.

Three specimens, which, though much injured by the corrosive properties of the soil, appear to have been but little circulated, as the few letters remaining are very sharp and perfect. 2 brass.

HADRIANUS.

Several in bad condition, presenting the appearance of having been much worn previous to the period of their inhumation. 1 brass.

No. 1. R. A figure, seated on a globe, to the left, in left arm a cornucopia, in right hand . 1 brass.
2. R. SALVS · AVG · S · C. A female standing to the right, and feeding, from a patera, a serpent, rising from an altar. 1 brass.
3. R. A galley, of 9 oars, sailing to the left, 6 of the rowers visible, and a figure seated under an elevated circular awning. S · C. In exergue, COS · III · PP. Well preserved. 2 brass.
4. R. COS · III. S · C. Hygeia standing to the right. 2 brass.

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ANTONINUS PIUS.

No. 1. R. Legend illegible. Female standing to the right. In exergue, ANNONA. 1 brass.

2. R. obliterated. Female standing to left, in left arm a cornucopiæ. 1 brass.

3. R. .....COS · IIII. A female seated to the left, holding ears of corn in her right hand over a modius placed before her; in left hand a cornucopiæ. In exergue . . NONA · AVG. 1 brass.

No. 4. R. defaced. A female standing to the left, in her right hand a globe. 1 brass.

FAUSTINA THE ELDER.

Several specimens in large brass worn and oxidized.

No 1. R. illegible. A female figure standing to the left. 1 brass

2. R. V.... Venus standing to the left. 1 brass.

3. R. illegible. Female standing to the left, her right hand extended over an altar. 1 brass.

M. AURELIUS.

No. 1. R. CONCORDIA · S · C. Female figure in the stola, standing to the left; in her left hand a patera. 1 brass

2. R. illegible. Female figure standing. Across the field, PIETAS · S · C. 1 brass.

3. R. PIETAS · AVG · S · C. Pontifical vessels. 1 brass.

4. R. .....S · C. A female standing to the left, holding ears of corn over a modius. 1 brass.

5. R. ... I . . XX. Female standing to the left, her right hand extended over an altar. 1 brass.

In addition to these are many worn bare.

FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER.

Several in large brass, quite illegible, from circulation.

No. 1. R. SALVS. . S · C. Female seated.

2. R. VENVS · S · C. Venus standing to the right, holding her drapery with the right hand; in her left the apple. 1 brass.

LUCIUS VERUS.

Several in large brass badly preserved.

No. 1. R. ...F...M · COS · II. A female standing to the left; in right hand — in left a cornucopiæ. 1 brass.

2. R. ....COS · III · S · C. In exergue, FORT · RED. Fortune seated with rudder and cornucopiæ. 1 brass.

LUCILLA.

Four or five specimens in large brass much worn.

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COMMODUS.

Several in first brass, illegible.

No. 1. R. .... ELIG · PM.... III · COSV — S · C. A figure standing to the left before an altar, patera in right hand, in left a cornucopiæ. 1 brass.

No. 2. R. Legend illegible. The emperor standing to right on a platform, addressing four soldiers; his right hand is elevated, the left rests on a spear. 1 brass.

3. R. ... PM · TRP · IIII · IMP · II.... S · C. In exergue, COS · V · PP. 1 brass.

4. R. .. Pallas standing to the left, her right hand extended over an altar. 1 brass.

CRISPINA.

One specimen in large brass, badly preserved.

SEVERUS.

R. Legend defaced. S · C. An armed figure standing to the left. 1 brass.

CARACALLA.

R. COS · II. · NTIF · TR · P · X — S · C. In exergue, COS · II. A galley, with five rowers. At the helm, under a canopy, is seated the gubernator, and behind him are placed two military standards. 2 brass.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER,

R. VIRTVS · AVGVSTI — S · C. The emperor standing to the left, holding in his right hand a globe, the left arm resting on a spear, and the right foot placed on a helmet. 1 brass.

JULIA MAMAEA.

No. 1. R. VESTA — S · C. Female standing with patera in right hand, in left the hasta. 1 brass.

2. R. VENVS · FELIX — S · C. A female seated to the left: in her right hand, a Victory; and her left hand resting on the hasta. 1 brass.

GORDIANUS PIUS.

No. 1. R. PIETAS · AVGG — S · C. Pontifical vessels. 1 brass.

2. R. IOVI · STATORI — S · C. Jupiter standing to the right: his right hand resting on a spear, his left holding a thunderbolt. 1 brass.

PHILIPPUS.

R. AEQVITAS · AVGG — S · C. Equity personified, standing to the left; in her right hand the equipoised scales, in her left a cornucopiæ. 2 brass.

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TRAJANUS DECIUS.

R. (without epigraph) A warrior with spear and shield standing to the left. S · C. 3 brass.

GALLIENUS.

No. 1. R. APOLLINI · CONS · AVG. A centaur. 3 brass.

2. R. ANNONA · AVG. A female figure standing to the left emptying a cornucopiæ. 3 brass.

3. R. PROVID · AVG. Providence standing to left. 3 brass.

R. PIETAS · AVGG. Valerian and Gallienus joining hands over an altar. Billon.

SALONINA.

R. JUNO REGINA. Juno standing. Billon.

POSTUMUS.

No. 1. R. HERC . DEVSONIENSI. Hercules standing to the right; in his left hand a club. Billon.

2. R. SAEC... FELICI.... Felicity standing to the left; in right hand a caduceus, in left a cornucopiæ. Billon.

VICTORINUS.

R. INVICTVS. The Sun marching to the right. 3 brass.

A great number also of the commonest types badly struck.

TETRICUS, FATHER AND SON.

Many of these of the types of *Spes*, *Salus*, *Virtus*, &c. badly preserved.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

No. 1. R. VICTORIA.... Victory standing. 3 brass.

2. Another similar.

3. R. CONSECRATIO. Eagle. 3 brass.

4. R. ..... AVG. Figure with cornucopiæ. 3 brass.

5. R. MARTI · PACIFERO. In field A · Mars with spear and shield standing to the left, and holding in his right hand a branch. 3 brass.

AURELIANUS.

FOR.....EDVX. Fortune seated, with rudder and cornucopiæ. 3 brass.

TACITUS.

R. VIRTUS · AVG. A helmeted warrior with spear and shield, standing to the left. 3 brass.

PROBUS.

No. 1. R. COMES · AVG. Pallas with spear and shield, holding an olive branch in her right hand. 3 brass.

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2. R. FIDES · MILITVM. Female and two standards. 3 brass.

3. Another similar.

CARUS.

R. CONSECRATIO. Eagle. 3 brass.

DIOCLETIANUS.

R. IOVI · CONSERVAT · AVGG. A in the field. Jupiter standing to the left; in right hand a thunderbolt, in left a spear. 3 brass.

MAXIMIANUS.

R. SALVIA · AVGG · ET · CAESS · FEL · KART. In exergue, B. A clothed female figure standing to the left; in right hand a branch; in left ears of corn. 2 brass.

R. SALVIA · AVGG · ET · CAESS · AVG · TR · KART (*sic*). In exergue, B. Figure as above. 2 brass.

R. PAX · AVGGG. In field, S · P; in exergue, MILXXI. Peace standing to the left holding a branch in right hand, in the left the hasta, transversely. 3 brass.

CARAUSIUS.

Third Brass.

No. 1. R. PAX · AVG. In field, S · C. Peace standing to the left; in right hand a branch; in left, the hasta held perpendicularly.

2. R. Idem. In field, S · P; in exergue, MLXXI.

3. R. Idem. As No. 1.

4. R. Idem. In exergue, ML.

5. R. Idem. In field, B · E. As before, hasta transversely.

6. R. Idem. Peace standing (defaced). In exergue, ML.

7. R. Idem. In field, S · P; exergue, C. Peace standing, as in No. 1.

8. R. Idem. In exergue, B.. Peace, &c., as in No. 1.

9. R. Idem. In field B · H; in exergue, MLXXI. Peace as before, with hasta perpendicular.

10. R. ....AVG. A winged figure standing to the left; in her extended right hand a palm branch, in her left arm ....?

11. R. PROVI.....In field, S · C; in exergue, MLX.. Providence holding a globe in the right hand, and in left a hasta transversely.

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12. R. LAETITIA · AVG. In field, S · C. A woman standing with garland in right hand; in left, a hasta.
13. R. ....IVI · AVG. A woman standing to the left emptying a cornucopiæ.
14. R. S....AVG. A woman standing to the left, with the hasta in her left hand; before her an altar with a serpent rising from it.
15. R. MONET · CVAC (*sic*). Moneta standing,
16. R. LEG · IIXX · PRIMIG. In exergue ML; Capricorn to the left.
17. R. ORIES (*sic*) ... In exergue RSR. The Sun standing, with right hand extended, and holding in the left a globe. With these exergual letters this coin is unpublished.

There are nine or ten more of the common Pax types badly preserved.

ALLECTUS.

Third Brass.

No. 1. R. PAX · AVG. In field S · A; in exergue ML. Peace standing to the left, with branch and hasta perpendicular.
2. R. Idem. In field S · P; in exergue C.
3. R. Idem. Peace standing; the hasta transverse. In field S · A.
4. R. Idem. In field S · P; exergue ML.
5. R. LAETITIA ... In field S · A; exergue MSL. A woman standing with wreath and hasta.
6. R. LAETITIA · AVG. Exergue QC (smaller module). A galley.
7. R. VIRTVS · AVG. Exergue QL (smaller module). Galley with seven oars; the rowers not visible.
8. R. Idem. Exergue, QL (idem).
9. R. Idem. Exergue, QC (6 oars).
10. R. Idem. Exergue, QL (4 oars).
11. R. Idem. Exergue, QL (6 oars).

A few more badly conserved.

CONSTANTIUS.

R. GENIO · POPVLI · ROMANI. In field, S · F; in exergue ITR. 2 brass.

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MAXIMINUS.

R. GENIO · POP · ROM. Genius standing. Exergue, PLN. 2 brass.

R. S·P·Q·R · OPTIMO ·PRINCIPI. Three standards. In exergue, POST. 3 brass.

CONSTANTINUS.

No. 1. R. SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI. The Sun. In field, S · F. Exergue, PLN. 3 brass.

2. Idem. Exergue, PTR.

3. R. Idem. Field, a star. Exergue, PLN. 3 brass.

4. R. Idem. Field, S · F. Exergue, ML. 3 brass.

5. R. Idem. Field, S · F. Exergue, MLL. 3 brass.

6. R. VIRTVS · EXERCIT. Two captives at the foot of a standard, on which is VOT XX 3 brass.

7. R . . . . R · VICTO. . . Two winged figures holding a shield (on which is VOT XX) over an altar. In exergue, STA. 3 brass.

8. R. . . . . TAE · PRINC · PERP. . Two Victories holding a shield, inscribed VOT PR 3 brass.

9. R. MARTI · CONSERV. . . . . Mars standing. Exergue, PTR. 3 brass.

10. R. BEATA · TRANQVILLITAS. The altar, &c. Exergue, STR. 3 brass.

11. R. Idem. 3 brass.

12. Idem. Exergue, PTR.

13. R. PROVIDENTIA·AVG. The camp gate, &c. Exerg. PLC. 3 brass.

About one dozen similar to the above, with trifling variations only.

One specimen of the small brass coin of Constantinopolis. Exergual mark, ∪ PLC.

One "URBS ROMA" PCONST.

LICINIUS.

No. 1. R. GENIO · POP · ROM. In field, A · S; exergue, PTR. Genius standing to right. In left hand, a cornucopiæ; in right a patera 3 brass.

2. R. VIRTVS · EXERCIT. In exergue, AQS. 3 brass.

3. R. SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI. In exergue, PLN. 3 brass.

4. R. Idem. Of a smaller module. 3 brass.

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CRISPUS

No. 1. R. BEATA · TRANQVILLITAS. Altar, &c. Exergue, PTR. 3 brass.

2. R. Idem. Altar, &c. Exergue, P · LON. 3 brass.

3. R. .....EXERCIT. Trophy, PTR. 3 brass.

4. R. Idem. Exergue, STR. 3 brass.

CONSTANTINUS, JUN.

No. 1. R. PROVIDENTIAE·CAESS. In exergue, P·LON. Camp gate, &c. 3 brass.

2. R. GLORIA · EXERCITVVM. In exergue, TRP. Two soldiers with standards. 3 brass.

3. R. BEATA · TRANQLITAS. Altar, &c. Exergue, P · LON. 3 brass.

4. R. SOLI · INVICTO · COMITI. In field, ⌣. Exergue, PLN. The sun standing. 3 brass.

Five or six more as above.

MAGNENTIUS.

No. 1. R. . :.... ROMANORVM. Exergue, NPLC. A horseman riding over a prostrate foot soldier. 3 brass.

2. R. VICTORIA · AVG · ET · CAES. Two Victories holding a shield inscribed VOTV / MVLTX 3 brass.

Two more, much corroded.

CONSTANS.

No. 1. R. FEL · TEMP · REPARATIO. A soldier dragging a captive from a hut, or cave. 3 brass.

2. R. GLORIA · EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, with a standard, inscribed with a monogram of Christ. 3 brass

VALENS.

No. 1. R. SECVRITAS · REIPVBLICAE. Victory, with palm branch. 3 brass.

2. R. Idem. In field, RF / A ; in exergue, ASISCP. 3 brass.

VALENTINIANUS.

R. GLORIA · ROMANORVM. Soldier with a captive. 3 brass.

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GRATIANUS.

No. 1. R. GLORIA · ROMANORVM. In field, A. A soldier holding a labarum in his left hand; his right placed on the head of a kneeling captive. 3 brass.

2. R. SECVRITAS · REIPVBLICAE. Victory. In exergue, SCON. 3 brass.

R. 3. Another, with exergual letters LVG · P. 3 brass.

XX.

MEDALS OF THE PRETENDER.

[THIRD SERIES.]

(Continued from Vol. II. p. 42.)

[To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.]

DEAR SIR,

THE last series of the Pretender Medals which you published, finished with the date 1689; and I know of no others from that date until the year 1697, at which time the Prince would be about nine years old. At this period a manifest appeared in France, in which the king of France said, that the conferences entered upon (without his participation), for a peace, of which one of the principal foundations was to be the confirmation of the usurper in his unjust possession, obliged him to protest publicly against all that had been concluded, or that might be so, with the Prince of Orange. Though this protestation was considered null by all the Confederate Powers, yet King James and his party looked upon it as confirming his rights and those of his son. The six following medals were struck on this occasion.

Yours truly,

W. D. HAGGARD.

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PRETENDER MEDALS CONTINUED.

No. 21.—Bust to the left of the Prince of Wales, hair flowing over the shoulders, armour and drapery, a brilliant sun on his breast, with this legend, IACOBVS · WALLIÆ PRINCEPS [James Prince of Wales]. Under the shoulder, N · R. [Nicholas Roëttier].

Rev.—A ship riding safely on a rough sea, with this legend, 1697 IACTATVR · NON · MERGITVR · VNDIS [The waves toss it without swallowing it up].

No. 22.—Bust to the left, hair flowing, neck bare. Legend IAC WALLIÆ · PRINCEPS [James Prince of Wales]. Under the bust, N · R. [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—Above a calm sea is the sun partly eclipsed by the moon, but as it emerges from the moon's shadow, appears to shine with greater lustre. Legend, CLARIOR · E · TENEBRIS [The darkness from which it emerges increases its splendour]. Exergue, 1697.

No. 23.—The same bust and legend.

Rev.—A mine exploding, with this legend, QVO · COMPRESSA MAGIS [Stronger from being confined]. Exergue, 1697.

No. 24.—The same bust and legend.

Rev.—The sun rising from a calm sea, the rays of which fill the whole field; with this legend, OMNIA · FACIT · IPSE SERENA [He sheds serenity every where]. Exergue, 1697.

No. 25.—The same bust and legend.

Rev.—Is rather different, having a fore ground, but the same legend.

No. 26.—Same bust and legend.

Rev.—A calm sea, over which flies a dove, carrying in its beak an olive branch; with this legend, MANSVRÆ · NVNTIA PACIS [Messenger of a durable peace]. Exergue, 1697.

No. 27.—Bust of King James to the right, laureate, slight armour and drapery. Legend, IACOBVS · II · D · G · M B · R [James II., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain]. N · R. under the shoulder [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—Bust to the left of the young Prince, hair tied and flowing, in armour. Legend, IAC · WALLIÆ · PRINCEPS [James Prince of Wales]. N · R. under the shoulder [N. Roëttier].

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No. 28.—Same bust and legend, but without the N · R. under the shoulder.

Rev.—The same bust and legend.

No. 29.—Bust to the left of the young Prince. Legend, IAC WALLIÆ · PRINCEPS [James Prince of Wales]. N R. under the shoulder [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—The sun rises above a calm sea, on which are some vessels: above the sun are demons, which its light seems to disperse, with this legend, SOLA · LVCE · FVGAT [He puts them to flight by his light alone]. Exergue, 1699.

No. 30.—The same bust and legend.

Rev.—A cornucopia, with this legend, PAX · VOBIS [Peace to you]. Exergue, 1699.

No. 31.—Bust to the right of King James. Legend, IACOBVS II · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX [James II., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland]. Under the bust, N · R [N. Roëttier]. 1699.

Rev.—Bust to the left of the young Prince, flowing hair and drapery. Legend, IAC · WALLIÆ · PRINCEPS [James Prince of Wales].

No. 32.—Busts to the right of James II. and Mary: he laureate, and both with ample drapery. Legend, IACOBVS · II ET · MARIA · D · G · MAG · BRI · FRAN · ET · HIB REX · ET · REGIN [James II. and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—Bust to the left, with flowing hair and drapery. Legend, IACOBUS · III · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX [James III., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

No. 33.—Bust to the left, flowing hair, neck bare. Legend, IAC III · D · G · MAG · BRIT · REX [James III., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain]. Under the bust, N . R [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—The meridian sun dispelling clouds. Legend, VIRTVS MOX · NVBILA · PELLET [Valour will shortly disperse the clouds]. Exergue, 1704.

No. 34.—Bust to the right, Prince James, flowing hair and drapery. Legend, CVIVS · EST [Whose it is]. N · R under the bust [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—A map representing Great Britain, Scotland, and Ireland. Legend in a band at the top, REDDITE [Restore].

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No. 35.—Bust to the left, Prince James with flowing hair, without drapery. Legend, CVIVS · EST [Whose it is]. N · R. under the bust [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—The same as No. 34.

No. 36.—Bust to the left, Prince of Wales with flowing hair and ample drapery. Legend, IACOBVS · III · D · G · M · B F · ET · H · REX [James III., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland]. Under the bust, N · R [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—The same map, but the legend on the band, REDDITE IGITVR [Restore ye therefore].

No. 37.—Bust the same as No. 36. Legend, CVIVS · EST [Whose it is].

Rev.—The same map and legend.

No. 38.—A ship with sails set and a fair wind. Legend, IAC 3 · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX [James III., by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—St. Michael and the Dragon. Legend, SOLI · DEO GLORIA [Glory to God alone].

No. 39.—A ship with sails set and the wind adverse. Legend, IAC · III · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · R [James III., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—The same as No. 38.

No. 38 and No. 39 were struck to present to such persons as came to the nominal king to be cured of scrofulous affections by his touch.

No. 40.—Bust to the left of Queen Anne, laureate, hair tied on the top of the head, and a curl flowing over the neck, slight and delicate drapery. Legend, ANNA · D · G MAGN · BRIT · FRANC · ET · HIB · REGINA [Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—In the centre is an upright sceptre entwined by two branches, the one of roses, the other thistles; on the right are two ships, at the mast head of one of them is the word SALISBVRI; on the left is the Tower of London, the rebels who were taken on board the Salisbury are being conducted there. Legend, QVIS · NOS · IMPVNE LACESSIT · VNITAS [Being united who shall attack us with impunity]. Exergue, IRRITO · SPVRII · IACOBI

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REDITV · IN · SCOTOS · CLASSE · GALLICA · EXTERNATA · MDCCVIII [The return of the unlawful James into Scotland vainly undertaken by the terrified French fleet. 1708].

No. 41.—Bust to the left of Queen Anne, full hair and a small crown, slight drapery. Legend, ANNA · D · G · MAG ET · VNITÆ · BRITT · FRA · ET · HIB · REGINA [Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—Inscription only. QVOD · DEVS · ET · REGES · LEGITIMI · HENRICVS · ROSIS · JACOBVS · NOMINIBVS ANNA · REGNIS · CONIVNXERVNT · LVDOVICVS XIV · GALL · REX · PRINCIPE · SVPPOSITIO · SEPARARE · AVSVS · EST · D · XXIV · MART · MDCCVIII [What God and the legitimate kings have joined, Henry by the union of the roses, James by that of names, Anne by that of kingdoms, Louis XIVth, King of France, has dared to try to divide by means of a suppositious Prince, 24th March, 1708].

No. 42.—Bust to the left of Queen Anne, hair plain and crowned. Legend, ANNA · D · G · MAG · ET · VNITÆ · BRITT FRA · ET · HIB · REGINA · C · W [Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—This inscription only. HENRICVS · ROSAS · IACOBVS NOMINA · ANNA · REGNA · VNIVIT · MDCCVII CONFIRMAVITQ · FACTA · IRRITA · LVD · XIV GALL · REG · CONSPIRATIONE · PER · PR · SVPP IACOB · DE · WALLIS · MDCCVIII · I · G · I [Henry has united roses, James names, Anne kingdoms, in the year 1707. She confirmed them in the year 1708, by dispelling the conspiracy of Louis XIVth, King of France, in favour of James the false Prince of Wales, who was to put it in execution].

No. 43.—Bust to the left of Prince James, laureate, hair flowing, neck bare. Legend, IACOBVS · III · D · G · M · B · F ET · H · REX [James III., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—Under a hill are some sheep. Legend, COGNOSCVNT ME · MEÆ. [My (sheep) know me]. Exergue, 1710.

No. 44.—Bust to the left, same as No. 43, but N · R [N. Roëttier], under the bust, and legend, DOMINVM · COGNOSCITE · VESTRVM [Know your master].

Rev.—The same as No. 43, but having a cloud above the hill.

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No. 45.—Bust to the left of Prince James. Legend, IACOBVS III · D · G · M · D · F · ET · H · REX [James III., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland]. N · R [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—Bust to the left of the Princess, hair dressed, and flowing over the shoulders, no drapery. Legend, PRINCEPS LVD · SER · MAG · BRI · REGIS · SOROR [Princess Louisa, Sister to the King of Great Britain]. N · R [N. Roëttier].

No. 46.—Bust to the left of the Prince James, flowing hair and ample drapery. Legend, IACOBVS · III · D · G · M · B F · ET · H · REX [James III., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—Bust to the left of the Princess, hair dressed and flowing over the shoulders, ample and rich drapery. Legend, PRINCEPS · LVD · SER · M · B · REGIS · SOROR [Princess Louisa, Sister to the King of Great Britain].

This medal is highly chased and gilt.

No. 47.—Bust to the left of the Prince James, flowing hair, ample drapery. Legend, IACOBVS · III · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX [James the Third, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland]. N. R [N. Roëttier].

Rev.—The Princess, hair full dressed and flowing over the shoulders, ample drapery. Legend, PRINCEPS · LVD · SER · M · B · REGIS · SOROR · N · 1712 [Princess Louisa, Sister to the King of Great Britain. N. Roëttier, 1712].

No. 48.—Busts of Prince James and the Princess Louisa, each in an oval border, the field between decorated with scroll ornaments; he in armour and mantle, she with her hair filletted, her mantle brooched in front and on the shoulders. This is only struck on a thin plate of silver.

No. 49.—Bust to the left of Queen Anne, laureate, rich drapery. Legend, ANNA · AVGVSTA [August Anne].

Rev.—To the left, the Prince of Wales, flowing hair, in armour and mantle. Legend, CVIVS · EST [Whose it is]. This medal is chased and gilt.

No. 50.—Bust to the right of George I., laureate, hair flowing, in armour and mantle. Legend, GEORGIVS · D · G MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX · F · D [George, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith]. I · C [J. Croker].

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Rev.—A figure of Victory, with palm branch in one hand and a sword in the other, who puts to flight the cavalry of the Rebels. Legend, PERIVRII · ULTRIX [Perjury or Vengeance]. Exergue, AD·DVNBLAINVM·13·NOV 1715 [At Dumblain, 13 Nov. 1715].

No. 51.—Bust to the right of George the First, the same as No. 50.

Rev.—A trophy on a pedestal, on the centre of which are two hands joined; on each side of the pedestal is a rebel chained. Legend, FIDES · MILITVM [The Fidelity of Troops]. Exergue, REBELL · AD · PRESTON CAPT · 13 · NOV · 1715 [The Rebels taken, at Preston, 13th Nov. 1715].

No. 52.—Bust to the right of Prince James, laureate, in armour and mantle. Legend, NIHIL · EFFICIENS [Accomplishing nothing].

Rev.—A Map of Scotia, Hibernia, and Great Britain, in that of { Scotia is the date, 1708. / ——— and „ 1716. } There are a number of ships surrounding the islands. Legend, BIS · VENIT · VIDIT NON · VICIT · FLENSQVE · RECESSIT [He came twice, he saw, he did not conquer, and with tears retired].

No. 53.—Bust to the right of Prince James and Clementina, he in armour and slight drapery, she with her hair decorated with tiara and beads, neck bare. Legend, IACOB · III R · CLEMENTINA · R [James the Third, King; Clementina, Queen]. Under the shoulder, HAMERANI.

Rev.—Hercules, leaning on his club, takes the hand of Venus; Cupid behind her holds a caduceus. Legend, REGIVM CONNVBIVM [A royal marriage]. Exergue, KAL SEPTEMBR · MDCCXIX [The first of September 1719].

No. 54.—Bust to the left of Clementina, hair dressed and tiara, beads round her neck, and rich gown and mantle. Legend, CLEMENTINA · M · BRITAN · FR · ET · HIB REGINA [Clementina, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

Rev.—Clementina, seated in a car, driving two spirited horses, the Sun is rising behind her; Rome appears in the distance, and a ship in full sail on the sea. Legend, FORTVNAM · CAVSAMQVE · SEQVOR [I follow Fortune and the Cause]. Exergue, DECEPTIS · CVSTODIBVS · MDCCXIX [The Guards being deceived].

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There is an interest about this medal which may excuse the insertion of a short quotation. "Mary Clementina, daughter of Prince James Sobieski, the eldest son of John Sobieski, the valiant king of Poland, was consort of the exiled son of James II. The families of Stuart and Sobieski were allied in misfortune, and equally pensionaries to other potentates; indeed, there seemed a kind of similarity in the fates of the two young people. The intended alliance was known to George I., who exerted his utmost efforts to prevent its taking place, by applying to the Emperor to forbid it, as the Sobieski were his feudatories, but without effect: his Imperial Majesty arrested the lady in the Tyrol, when on her way to her lover, whence she was conveyed a prisoner to Inspruck. Prince James Sobieski, her father, implored in vain the mercy of that court which his heroic father had saved from destruction; he was proscribed, and the princess was still detained. But what will not love effect? Maria procured a male habit, and, thus disguised, she eluded the vigilance of the person who had the care of her, and fled to Bologna, in which city she was espoused by proxy. She then went to Rome, and wished immediately to have passed into Spain, but the Pope detained her in his court till the arrival of the Prince soon after. Clementina was an elegant woman, very religious, and very amiable; but her alliance was unhappy, as James, like his father, though devout, had his gallantries. These made a deep impression on her mind, who loved her husband with fervour, which he returned with mere esteem."

No. 55.—Bust to the right of Prince James, flowing hair, in armour, and mantle over the shoulder. Legend, IACOBVS · III · D · G · M · B · F · ET · H · REX. [James III., by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland].

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Rev.—Bust to left of Clementina, hair dressed with beads, drapery, and twisted beads round the bosom. Legend, CLEMENTINA · MAGNAE · BRITANNIAE · ET · C REG. [Queen of Great Britain, &c.] Under the shoulder, OTTO · HAMARANI.

XXI.

ON THE APPROPRIATION OF CERTAIN COINS TO NORTHUMBRIA AND EAST ANGLIA.

[Remarks on Articles III. and IX.[1]]

Sir,

In the last Number of the Numismatic Chronicle I have read with much pleasure two most interesting letters on Anglo-Saxon coins, on which, as the subject matter appears both novel and highly important, I wish, with your leave, to offer a few observations.

To begin with the letter of L. Y. H., I perfectly agree with the very able and ingenious writer, that the coin of Regnald, published in your Chronicle, No. 2, p. 119, together with those of Sihtric and Anlaf of the same type, belong to Northumberland, that of Sihtric to the Prince of that name who married the sister of Athelstan, and those of Anlaf and Regnald to the son and grandson of Sihtric, both of whom were expelled by Edmund in 944. The coin of Regnald, No. 1, must also have been struck by the same Regnald, but whether immediately after the death of Sihtric, or after his return and reconciliation with Edmund in 943, is uncertain, probably the latter, as during the former period, although called a king, his father Godfrith was still living. The next question which suggests itself, is whether the coins of Anlaf, different from that just noticed, were all struck by the same prince, or by others of the same

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[1] See pages 7 and 47.

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name. During the period of history commencing with the death of Sihtric in 927, and ending with the restoration of Eric in 952, the name of Anlaf often occurs, and has been the cause of confounding, in many instances, different princes of that name. I believe it will, however, be now generally admitted, that two, and only two, princes of that name ruled in Northumberland during that period. The first was Anlaf, the son of Sihtric, who, together with his brother Godfrith and Regnald, the son of Godfrith, were expelled by Athelstan in 927, returned and reigned in Northumberland from 943 to 944, when he was expelled by Edmund, again returned on the expulsion of Eric in 949, and was finally deposed in 952.

The second prince of that name was the celebrated Anlaf, son of Godfred, king of the Danes of Ireland, who was defeated by Athelstan at Brunanburgh in 938, and afterwards king of Northumberland, &c., in 941; in which year the Irish annals mention he was succeeded by Blacar, his brother, soon after which he died.

Your correspondent seems to doubt whether the Anlaf *Cwyran*, who arrived in Northumberland in 949, was the same person as Anlaf, the son of Sihtric, who was expelled in 944, but the best authorities all consider him as the same; and it may not be unworthy of attention that this prince fled to Ireland in 927, when first expelled; and in 944, the year of his second expulsion, the annals of Ulster mention, "Some of the Kenanus people were killed by Olave *Quaran*," a name peculiarly applicable to a prince who had twice returned to England and twice to Ireland. Whether any coins were struck in Northumberland by the Irish Anlaf is, I think, very questionable; but if there were, those with the ornaments, Ruding, No. 3, are the most likely to belong to him; but I am far more inclined to

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assign all the English coins bearing the name of Anlaf to the English prince of that name, and to agree with your correspondent in supposing those with ONLAF, from their resemblance to the coins of Eric, to have been struck after his second restoration in 949.

The discovery of the name of Regnald on a class of coins hitherto generally supposed to be ecclesiastical, must be considered as an important addition to our appropriated Anglo-Saxon coins. That the coins noticed by your very able and ingenious correspondent bear a name intended for that of Regnald, will, I believe, be admitted; and that they were struck by the Northumbrian prince of that name seems also highly probable; and the only doubt which exists in my mind on the subject is, whether it may not be intended for the name of an archbishop of York, who possessed that see from 922 to 942, and who has been called by the several names of Redward, Lodeward, and Rumwald, names so very dissimilar as to render it possible that Regnald, which bears some resemblance to them, may be the right name. The monograms are considered by your correspondent as intended for *Carlus*, but I think some of them appear rather intended for *Civitas*, and some perhaps for *Episcopus* or Archiepiscopus, the latter of which would be unquestionable evidence in support of the appropriation to an archbishop of York.

I now proceed to the very interesting letter of your correspondent, D. H. H., who has, by a new attribution, assigned to kings of the East Angles the pennies hitherto supposed to belong to Eadwald, king of Mercia, and Eanred, king of Northumberland. I perfectly concur with D. H. H., in supposing that kings reigned in East Anglia between the murder of Ethelbert in 792 and the accession

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of Edmund in 855, and that Aethelweard, of whose coinage we have many specimens, was one of those kings, and probably the immediate predecessor of Edmund; but I regret that I am compelled to differ with him in supposing the pennies of Eadwald and Eanred to belong also to that kingdom, and to consider the old appropriation of these coins, particularly that of Eanred, as far more probable. As to the coins of Eadwald, the principal evidence on which your correspondent seems to rely, is the resemblance which exists between these coins and those, not only of Offa, but Coenwulf, and the absence of the letter M on the coins of Eadwald. The resemblance between these coins and those of Offa, Pl. 4, No. 19, and Pl. 29, No. 14, is indeed remarkable; but between the coins of Eadwald and those of Coenwulf, whether we consider the types, moneyers, or letters, the same resemblance by no means appears; indeed, none stronger than what we often find in coins of very different ages: whilst those of Offa which resemble the coins of Eadwald have every appearance, from their rudeness, of being some of the first struck by him; the beautiful coins, the work of Italian artists, being supposed to be coined towards the end of his reign. The absence of the letter M on the coins of Eadwald is, perhaps, the strongest evidence in support of your correspondent's theory; but I should have looked upon it as much stronger, if the Mercian king, to whom these coins have been hitherto attributed, followed instead of preceded Offa; and when we consider that there was much less room on these coins for that letter than on those exhibiting the shorter name of Offa, and that it is even wanting on the greater portion of the coins of Offa without the head, it will, I think, be admitted after all, that its absence is not very important.

As to the appropriation of the coin of Eanred to the

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East Anglian series, the evidence adduced by your correspondent is still more unsatisfactory, being based entirely on the supposition that it is not likely to have been struck by a prince who coined stycas, and which are of much inferior workmanship to the penny in question, and do not exhibit the name of the money, or who struck it; but the superior workmanship of the penny, would in itself lead us to suppose it struck by a different moneyer, whilst there does not appear anything more extraordinary in Eanred's striking a few pennies, than that our own sovereign should coin a few £5 pieces. And when we consider, on the one hand, that there was a well-known King of Northumberland, named Eanred, who reigned thirty-three years, whilst no proof whatever appears that there was such a king in East Anglia, or even a certainty of the existence of more than one king between Ethelhert and Edmund, to fill which place we have the name of Aethelweard, I think it must be admitted that no sufficient reasons appear for transferring this coin from Northumberland to East Anglia.

As to Mr. Hawkins' silence respecting this coin, it may have proceeded from inadvertence, or, perhaps, a doubt, whether the coin was genuine.

There is another and still more important point on which I am compelled to differ altogether from your correspondent. He says, "The only silver coins of this kingdom, Northumberland, that I have heard of (for I consider the appropriation of the skeattas to Northumberland, very weakly supported), are, a skeatta of Ethelred, and one of Eanred.

This arrangement would exclude from the Northumbrian series, not only the skeattas of Edbert, Egbert and Alcred, &c., now generally allowed to belong to Northumbria, but even the pennies of Regnald, Anlaf, and Eric; but as these last are universally assigned to that kingdom, and

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those of the last-named king could scarcely belong to any other, I am inclined to suppose your correspondent forgot them altogether.

I cannot conclude without directing the attention of your readers to an admirable essay in the 19th volume of the Archæologia, p. 302, on the kings of the East Angles, from the murder of Ethelbert to the accession of Edmund, by Thomas Amyot, Esq., F.S.A., in which the learned writer has most ably and indefatigably collected all the evidence afforded by our early annals on this subject; and also in the most clear and discriminating manner commented on the evidence thus collected. From this evidence it appears, that in 823 and 825, the East Angles had a king, although the name of such king is not mentioned; and Mr. Amyot justly supposes Aethelweard, of whom so many coins are found, to belong to this kingdom: he also, in the note to p. 306, notices a legend edited by Mabillon, in which a king is mentioned, named Adelbert, the brother and *predecessor* of Edmund, who is said to have reigned 37 years and 7 months; and that Archdeacon Batteley supposes it to be a mistake, and that Ethelbert, who was murdered at Offa's court, was the king meant to be alluded to; but it seems to me that if the legend is entitled to credit at all, the Adelbert mentioned can be no other than Aethelweard, who seems to have been the predecessor of Edmund, and possibly his brother, particularly when we consider that Ethelbert reigned *only two years*, whilst Adelbert is said to have reigned 37 years and 7 months; and if this should be true, the date of Aethelweard's accession would be 818 or 820, if 857 be looked on as the date of Edmund's accession, before which time it is very likely, as Mr. Aymot seems to think, there were no kings from the death of Ethelbert, the troubles which ensued on the death of Coenwulf appearing

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to afford a most favourable opportunity to the East angles for throwing off the Mercian yoke. The only other coin which I am aware of, likely to belong to any of the uncertain kings of the East Angles, is the penny of Beorthric, the A on which coin, and the extreme similarity of the coin itself to those of the East Anglian kings, seem to afford some evidence that Beorthric, the son-in-law of Offa, might have been appointed by his father-in-law to rule over that kingdom. I remain, Sir, &c.,

JOHN LINDSAY.

Cork, Sept. 16th, 1839.

P. S.—I have not yet seen Mr. Borrell's work on the coins of the kings of Cyprus, published in 1836; but on reference to the Gent, Mag. for *May*, 1831, p. 420, you will perceive that a large number of these coins were by me assigned to Evagoras and Nicocles, kings of Cyprus.

NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

A VIEW OF THE COINAGE OF IRELAND, FROM THE INVASION OF THE DANES TO THE REIGN OF GEORGE IV. By JOHN LINDSAY, Esq., Barrister at Law.—Cork: 4to. pp. 143. —1839.

MR. LINDSAY is well known to our readers as a contributor to Numismatic science, and his various papers in this and other journals, evince at once the extent of his information and the ardour with which he pursues his interesting studies.

"Ninety years," says Mr. Lindsay, "have now elapsed since Mr. Simon's Essay on the Coins of Ireland was first published, and seventy since the supplement was added by Mr. Snelling; it will, therefore, be readily admitted, that a new work on the subject would be a desirable object to those interested in the antiquities of this part of the United Kingdom." After paying a just tribute to the excellent work of Simon, our author states that he has been led to differ from that writer, in the appropriation of the coins with the three crowns assigned by him to Henry VI. These, he shews, must belong to Henry VII.; and we readily admit that

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they are rightly assigned to that latter monarch. On another point, namely, the "ring money," we take leave to dissent both from Mr. Lindsay and Sir William Betham, since we cannot admit that the researches of the latter have established the fact that they were ever the current money of Ireland. That they might occasionally be offered up on the high altar, or received in large payments, is no proof that they were current coin. If a herd of cattle were made over by the possessor in exchange for land, the cattle could not be designated as money. That the rings in question were personal ornaments there cannot be a doubt, and these ornaments were, doubtless, occasionally applied to the purposes of coined money, just an earring of gold is stated in Genesis to be of a certain weight. It was natural, too, that there should be divisions and multiples of weight in these personal ornaments, in order that their actual value might be ascertained without difficulty. We have always been led to believe that the earliest circulating medium of Ireland, is the money struck in evident imitation of our Anglo-Saxon coins, of which many curious specimens are given in the plates illustrating Mr. Lindsay's work. Mr. Lindsay has himself so good a practical acquaintance with coins, that he will not fail to admit that, in the earliest money of Ireland, we must look for barbarous imitations of the coins of another people.

The number of types collected and engraved in the four first plates, and those of the Supplement, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, is very curious, and, by being thus recorded, may some day prove of great value: as regards the correctness of their present appropriation, we do not feel so certain as Mr. Lindsay. The ample descriptive catalogue will be found of infinite service to the collector, supplying him with every minute particular, and referring to the engraved specimens of this and other works.

The list of varieties of those singular coins, the "Gun Money," of James II., in the Appendix No. 2, is both useful and interesting to the collector. Appendix No. 4, containing the several degrees of rarity, and references to the cabinets or works in which the coins may be found, is a very necessary addition to a work of this description. The mention of the prices which particular pieces have brought at public sales, may *amuse* the collector and numismatist, but, nine times out of ten, is calculated to mislead him, while it often affords an opportunity to an ignorant knave to overreach those who are too eager to possess a coin of which chance has given him possession. Our opinion has changed with regard to the policy of publishing such lists. To the well-informed they can be of little permanent use; to the ignorant they afford the means of overreaching; by such people allowance is never made for the condition of a coin. Any one who has attended two or three coin sales in London, will acknowledge that competition has caused even insignificant and common coins to bring

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extraordinarily high prices.[1] These observations are not intended to detract from the obvious merits of a work, the usefulness and value of which will be acknowledged by all who are interested in the series to which it relates.

We may observe, on parting, that Mr. Lindsay, in his enumeration of the coins termed "the Ormond money," mentions the penny, without reference to the cabinet in which it is to be found. Our collectors on this side the channel think there never was such a piece.

DESCRIPTION DE LA TROUVAILLE DE L'ILE DE JERSEY. PAR LE BARON DE DONOP. AVEC XXXII PLANCHES. A HANNOVRE, 1838. Chez Hahn, Libraire du Roi.

THE investigation and study of the Gaulish and British coins, have, for some time, been progressing both in England and in France, with the best results and anticipations.

Research has been conducted warily and circumspectly; imagination has been curbed by the sober hand of reason, and opinions subjected to the searching test of comparison. But the caution so necessary to be adopted in entering on a field of investigation, hitherto examined at random and without system, has not precluded zeal, as may testify the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle, and of our sister co-operator, the Revue Numismatique.

In no branch of the science of Numismatics, were care and deliberation more needed; for the light which guides the antiquary in the study of the Greek and Roman series here fails him; emblems are no longer apt and subservient to some special purpose, to explain habits, customs, and manners; inscriptions are wanting, and letters, where they do occur, seem, in most instances, useless for etymological deduction, and any direct reference to persons or things. To many who have not gone hand in hand with experience, and have not reflected upon the fact that the science of Numismatics, like other sciences, is to be acquired gradually, with some patience and labour, and not to be taken by ambush, or won by a *coup de main*, these coins have afforded scope for the widest range and most unbridled wanderings of fancy and conjecture. Where the cautious student has recognised nothing but the rude efforts of a people applied to imitate, without regard to propriety or fitness, the works of high art that chance or commerce may have thrown in their way, the indiscreet enthusiast sees emblems and symbols fraught with hidden learning, which he is often tempted to enucleate and solve in favour of some che-

[1] As a proof of the inutility of priced lists, let any person attempt to purchase, in Paris, large brass Roman Coins, at the prices given in M. Mionnet's work, and he will find himself deceived.

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rished theory or hypothesis, not weighing that such evidence might, with equal plausibility, be interpreted in support of a diametrically opposite system.

A fatal exemplification of the neglect of attending to what may be termed comparative numismatic knowledge, and of apparent ignorance of what has been said and done by societies and individuals devoted to this study, both in France and in England, occurs in the work under notice, which owes its origin to the following circumstance :—

"In 1820, the sea threw down a rock on the coast of Jersey. In the clefts a heap of medals was discovered, the cohesion and conglomeration of which indicated some enclosing substance that had entirely disappeared. The whole bulk of the medals passed into the hands of the present possessor. He with difficulty succeeded in separating and cleaning them, so as to be able to recognise and delineate their types. But the trouble was abundantly rewarded by the importance to which, under every point of view, this collection may aspire as an unique and valuable monument of the remotest ages of Western Europe. The most prominent points are the following :—

"1. These medals amount altogether to 982 pieces, of which 760 are faithfully delineated by an expert lithographer. They fill thirty-two plates in quarto. The remainder, except a few which have been melted to find the alloy, still remain in the same state as when discovered.

"2. The metal is the same as that which the assayer of Count Caylus found in the midst of ancient Gaulish medals, and which he named *æs ustum*. The examination of some of the medals produces an eighth part alloy of pure silver. There are some, however, with more silver. The form is concave ; and it is by that circumstance, as well as the peculiarity of metal and of types, that these medals are included in the number of monuments and medals scattered over the continent of Europe—namely, by the concave form, and by the type of No. XIV.,* they indicate the families of Germanic asterisks, Scutellæ Iridis, Regenbogen Schuſſein.

"It is chiefly these types that are of inestimable value in the inquiry into the origin of the nations of the West. And, first, the very peculiar circumstance presents itself, that, notwithstanding the often-repeated uniformity of types and of the leading idea, we have not yet met with an entire identity of stamp ; so that not one of this immense collection of medals appears to have been struck from the same die with another ; a circumstance which, of necessity, must suggest the idea of a hieratic destination, probably a ritual-calendar measuring the course of time. The types them-

* See Num. Chron. Vol. I. p. 73, fig. 50, in the plate of British Symbols.

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selves, almost without exception, give a glimpse of the idea and symbolic style of the people of the East. We there see on the obverse, the head, with its luxuriant curls; and on the reverse, the quadruped leaping from left to right; which, being sufficiently explained by the secondary types, can scarcely be anything else than the curly head of Krishna and the solar horse of Meru."

Page 3, *description of Figure* 9.—" The quadruped on many of the medals bears the human head. In this case, it is guided either by a figure or by another human head only, both rising from the neck of the animal. Sometimes the head of the guide is *mithraed*. There is always in the middle, between the figure or head, and the bridled head, a staff erected above the back, terminating in a circle of points round another point in the centre. This representation, taken altogether, is evidently that of *Arun*, *Aruthne*, the Indian Aurora; the staff with the circle of points, either the night with the stars (*Krishna*, the black sun), which vanishes, being carried off by Aurora; or the rising sun, accompanied by the twelve zodiacal stars of the Chaldean and of the Egyptian, the year and the solar chariot of the Indo-Persian; and, finally, the *Bal-ainn*, the solar year of the thirteen houses of the Irish, his *Leil-greine*, symbol of the sun, precisely the figure of the standard of Fingal in the highlands of Scotland."

The above will be sufficient to expound the Baron Dunop's views on the Armorican coins that it has been the object of his essay to explain and illustrate. That they do not incontestably indicate an oriental origin, either Indian or Egyptian, or carry a leading reference to sun-worship, comparison with well-known Greek coins will decide. There is no necessity for discussing with the Baron detached facts relative to the migration of nations, or the prevalence of the adoration of the great luminary of nature in early ages, and which doubtless existed in Gaul, and may have been introduced there by the Phœnicians and Greeks; but we protest against his drawing decisive conclusions in support of such facts from such materials, and believe he will not gain one assentient voice to the historical or mythological pretensions he has set up for his foundlings, unless it be from among such as quote the Chronicles of Eri or Ossian's Poems as authorities in matters of antiquity.

The medals are, in fact, such as are well known, and of the same character as those usually found in the Channel Isles; having on the obverse a direct but bad copy from the Greek, of a human head; and on the reverse, an imitation, more or less perfect, of the biga with a charioteer, on many so barbarously executed as to be barely recognisable.

But though it will be readily seen, on referring to the plates, that these coins can have no apparent influence in throwing light

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on the origin or migrations of European nations, nor in explaining any allegorical or mythical records of the ancients; yet there is still a degree of interest attached to them which the Baron has not pointed out; and that is in the fact of their being the records of the transition of a people from ignorance and barbarism to a certain degree of acquaintance with the arts, their earliest steps towards civilisation and commercial intercourse; and thus forming one of the first links in their history.

The thanks of the numismatic world are due to the learned baron for the pains he has taken to furnish engravings of the coins, and to detail the circumstances connected with their discovery, whereby his readers have authentic evidence to judge for themselves, and are assured of the author's sincerity and wish to write for truth rather than victory. C. R. S.

MISCELLANEA.

Mode of taking Impressions from Coins.—Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich, has favoured us with an ingenious and original plan for taking impressions, or casts, from coins or gems.

The coin from which the cast is to be obtained, is first to be placed on some melted sealing-wax on a card, precisely in the same manner as a common seal for a letter is made. The effect of the impress from the coin will be, of course, an incuse stamp.

A piece of thin tin-foil is now to be cut to a size rather larger than the coin, and then pressed on the wax matrix so that every part be well covered. A dry tooth-brush must then be used to press or rub the tin-foil into the hollows and interstices; when this (the part of the process requiring most care) is effected, take off the tin-foil, which will be found to have received a perfect copy of the coin: trim the jagged or superfluous edges, and with caution bend them back a little, so as to imitate the edge of the real coin.

To preserve this delicate cast,—again melt some wax on a card, allow it to cool, and thereon deposit the cast. The card is then to be held about two or three inches above the flame of a candle, that the heat may be so regulated as to soften the wax without burning the card. As the wax liquefies gradually, the casts will be observed to sink therein, and when the edges are immersed to the extent required, it must be withdrawn, or the heat will destroy the texture of the metal.

There is another method which is very good, but requiring more time; and that is, to fill the sealing-wax matrix with very

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thick mucilage of gum-arabic, coloured with vermilion, allowing it to become hard, when the gum cast can be extracted with the point of a pen-knife.

Impressions from coins are very necessary, where drawings cannot be made by an experienced numismatist, or where the coins themselves cannot be forwarded: but it need scarcely be observed that the most finished sketch, or the best impression or cast will never certify the genuineness of a coin, which can only be warranted by the practised eye of such as have had opportunities of exercise in this difficult branch of the study of coins and medals.

Discovery of Denarii.—About 250 denarii have recently been found on the line of the Great Western Railway, somewhere between Bath and Bristol, but the exact site we have as yet been unable to ascertain.

Of about 150 which were permitted to be examined, the following particulars were obtained:—They are entirely of Valens, Gratianus, and Magnus Maximus; and, speaking in round numbers, there may have been about an equal proportion of each. The reverses are as follow:—*Valens*, VRBS · ROMA. Rome seated with a victory, &c.

In exergue TRPS with two exceptions of the place of mintage, namely, RP and AQPS., and a single specimen of VOT · V MVLT · X. in wreath. In exergue, R B.

Gratianus.

R. VRBS · ROMA., and VIRTVS · ROMANORVM. In the exergue of all, TRPS.

Magnus Maximus.

R. VIRTVS · ROMANORVM. A helmeted figure seated, with globe and spear. Exergual marks on all, TRP.

Two exceptions to the above were, CONCORDIA. AVGGG. A female seated in a chair to the front, with cornucopiæ and spear, her foot resting on the prow of a galley. In exergue, TRPS.

Medal to Commemorate the Cinque Ports Banquet.—Mr. B. Wyon, Engraver of her Majesty's Seals, under the direction of the committee of management, has completed a medal, bearing on the obverse the portrait of the Duke of Wellington, with a view of Dover Castle on the reverse. Report speaks well of the execution of this medal, which will be published by subscription. Price, in bronze, *one guinea*; in silver, *two guineas*. The names of subscribers will be received by Thomas Rigden, Esq., secretary to the committee of management, Dover.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

THURSDAY, 28TH OF MARCH, 1839.

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Presents of Books, Coins, and Medals, having been announced, the following papers were read:—

I.

A Memoir by Mr. Samuel Birch, on the Coins of Thessalian Larissa (See Num. Chron. Vol. I. p. 222.)

II.

Notice of the Coins of Zurich, by Mr. Pfister, who exhibited to the Society a rare Ducat of Charlemagne, struck in that city, bearing the effigies of Saints Felix and Regula; and a Bracteate Coin of the Abbey of Frauen Münster.

III.

A Note from the Rev. Charles Turnor, F.R.S., accompanying a Medal, presented by him to the Society, struck to commemorate the Opening of the Medicinal Well, at Cheltenham.

The following noblemen and gentlemen were balloted for and duly elected:—

Mons. Raoul Rochette, Vice President of the French Institute, as *associate*.
J. Prinsep, Esq., of Calcutta, as *associate*.
The Right Honorable Lord Carrington.
The Right Honorable Lord Albert Conyngham.
George Robert Smith, Esq., M.P.
Frederick Vallings, Esq.
George Whitehead, Esq.
The Rev. Edward Serocold Pearse, M.A.

The Society then adjourned to—

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THURSDAY, 25th of APRIL, 1839.

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Presents of Coins, Books, and Medals were announced. Colonel Fox exhibited to the Society 146 Pennies of Henry III. found in a sand stone, at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire. (See Num. Chron. Vol. II. p. 54.)

The papers read were—

I.

A Note on the Coins of Andeda, in Pisidia by Mr. Borrell, of Smyrna (See Num. Chron. Vol. II. p. 1.)

II.

A Note from Sir Henry Ellis, on certain Coins, formerly supposed to have been minted in Normandy by William the Conqueror. These pieces have been engraved by Ducarel, and other writers, and are now known to be *forgeries*. They bear the legend, IVLIOBINA.

The following gentlemen were elected Members:—

William Henry Rolfe, Esq. of Sandwich.
Joseph Gibbs, Esq., C.E. of Kennington.
Matthew Alephson, Esq., of London.
Edwin Keates, Esq., of Kensington.

The Society then adjourned to—

THURSDAY, 23rd of MAY, 1839.

Thomas Burgon. Esq., Vice President, in the Chair.

Presents were announced.

Read, the following papers:—

I.

A Letter from Mr. Borrell, of Smyrna, describing a very remarkable and unique Coin of Artaxias (See Num. Chron. Vol. II. p. 4.)

II.

Notice of a number of Roman Coins, found at Strood, in Kent, by Mr. C. R. Smith (Num. Chron. Vol. II. p. 112).

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The Viscount de Santarem was unanimously elected an *associate*, and the Society adjourned to—

THURSDAY, 27th of JUNE, 1839.

Dr. Lee, President, in the Chair.

Numerous Presents having been announced; the following papers were read:—

I.

Anecdotes of the English Coinage, by J. G. Nichols (Num. Chron. Vol. II. p. 80.)

II.

On the Currency of Ethiopia, by Monsieur Thomson d'Abbadie (Num. Chron. Vol. II. p. 65).

III.

On the Amelioration of the Coinage, by Mr. J. W. Burgon (Num. Chron. Vol. II. p. 12).

IV.

On some Cast Coins of the Ptolemies, by Mr. Birch.

The following gentlemen were elected Members:—

Alfred Joseph Stothard, Esq.
Humphrey Wickham, Esq.

The President, after an address to the Members, in which he stated, that agreeably to the Institute of this Society, his term of office expired with the present Session, gave notice that the Anniversary Meeting of the Society would be held on THURSDAY, the 18th July, and that the ballot for the election of the President and officers would take place at 3 P.M.

The Society then adjourned, over the recess, to November, 1839.

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At the Annual General Meeting, held at the apartments of the Royal Astronomical Society, the following gentlemen were elected—

OFFICERS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

FOR 1839—40.

President.

Edward Hawkins, Esq. F.R.S.: F.S.A.; F.L,S.

Vice-Presidents.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.; B.C.L.; Sec. S.A.; M.R.I.A.; F.L.S.

H. H. Wilson, Esq., Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford, F.R.S.; M.R.A.S.

Treasurer.

John Lee, Esq. LL.D.; F.R.S.; F.S.A.

Secretaries.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. L. & E.

Francis Hobler, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N.; K.S.F.; F.R.S.; F.S.A.; &c.

Librarian.

W. D. Haggard, Esq. F.S.A.; F.R.A.S.

Council.

C. F. Barnewell, Esq. M.A.; F.R.S.; F.S.A.
John Brumell, Esq.
Thomas Burgon, Esq.
J. D. Cuff, Esq. F.S.A.
Colonel C. R. Fox.
Edwin Guest, Esq. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge.
Colonel Leake, F.R.S.; M.R.S.L.; &c.
J. W. Morrison, Esq. Deputy Master of the Royal Mint.
John Gage Rokewode, Esq. M.A.; D.S.A.; F.L.S.
Wm. Smee, Esq.
L. H. J. Tonna, Esq.
W. Wyon, Esq. R.A.; F.S.A.

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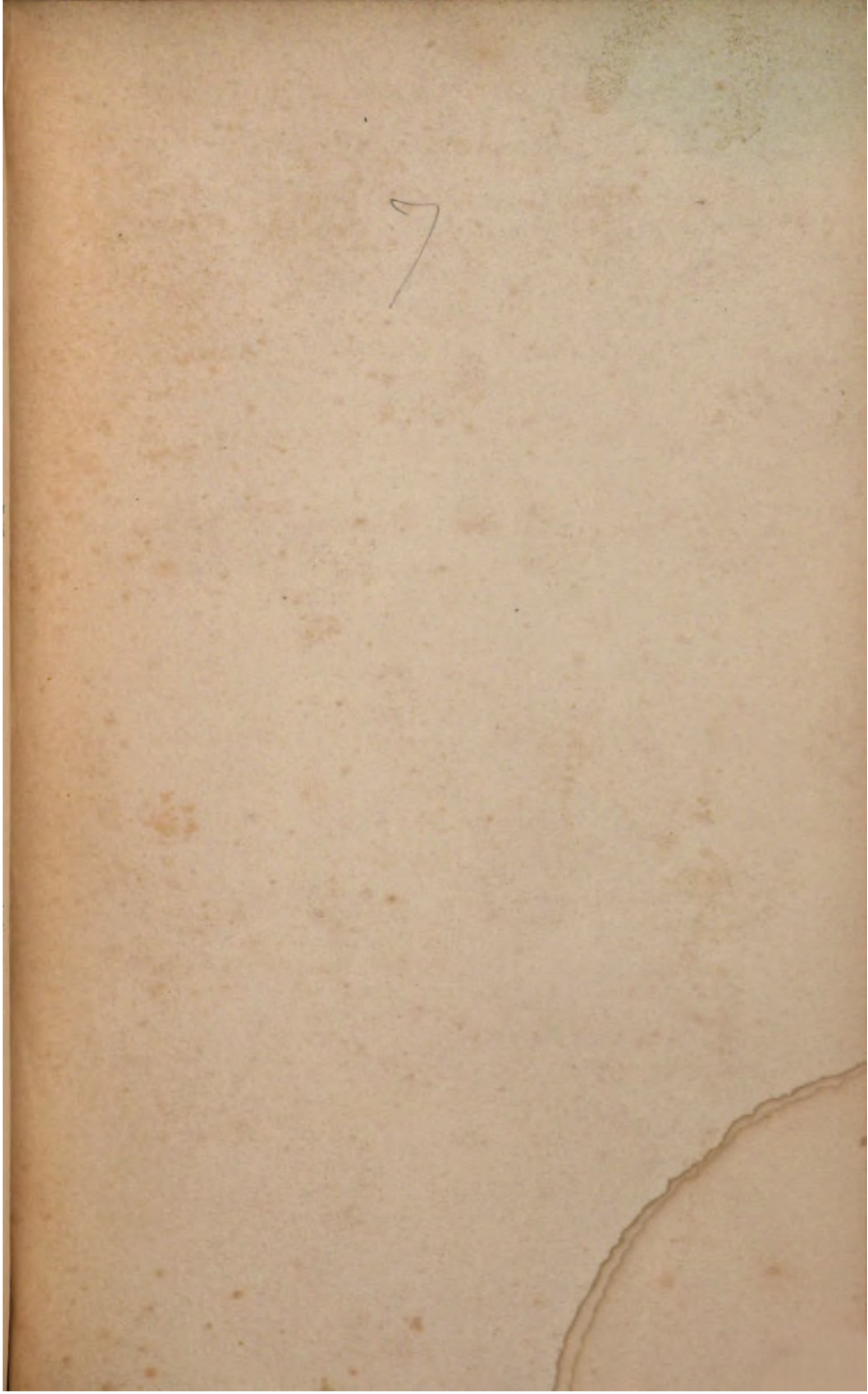

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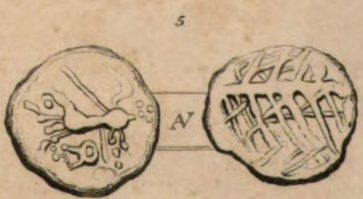

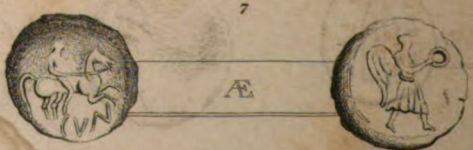

H.A.0 99.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

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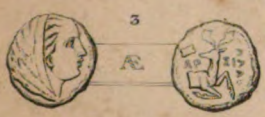

H.A.Ogg

COINS OF ARSINOE AND EPHESUS.

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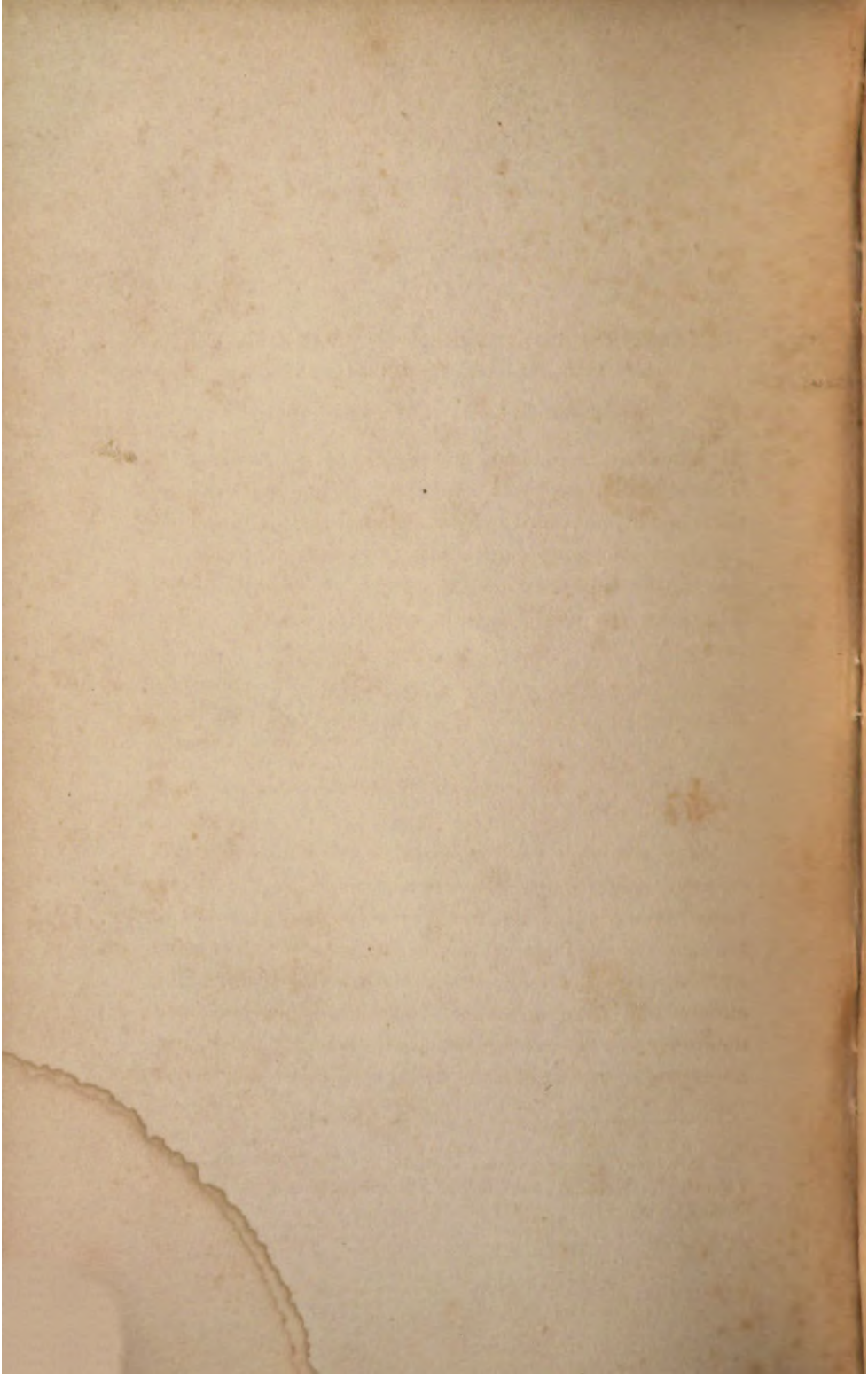

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XXII.

REMARKS ON THE TYPE OF SOME OF THE COINS OF THE AENIANES OF THESSALY.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 1839.]

My object in introducing these coins of the Aenianes of Thessaly is not to make known any variety in type from those already published by various numismatic authors, but merely to offer some observations with a view of elucidating the subject impressed on the reverse of some of them. The coins I allude to are those bearing for type as follows:—

Obv.—Caput Palladis galeatum eleganter ornatum.
Rev.—AINIANΩN ΘΕΡΣΙΠΠΟΣ. Vir nudus gradiens et respiciens cum palliolo circumvoluto brachio sinistro, utraque manu elata fundam jaculaturam tenet, in area palmæ ramus, et pro pedibus duæ lanceæ.[1] Æ 7. Sestini, *Descript. Num. Vet.*, p. 145, No. 1.

Many other coins of the same people exist in various cabinets, differing from the above merely by the magistrates' names, and sometimes by the accessory symbol in the field; but as these are particulars in no way connected with my subject, it is unnecessary to describe them. The authors who have mentioned these coins have confined themselves to a simple description of them; none have attempted to explain who the naked male figure is intended

[1] See also Pellerin, Rec. I., tab. xxvi., fig. 2; Mionnet, Descrip. de Méd. Gr., tom. ii. p. 8, No. 66, et Suppl. III. p. 277, Nos. 115 and 116.

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to represent, which we find on the reverse armed with a sling. It appears to me the subject is allusive to an event connected with the early history of the Aenianes,—an event which, at a later period, their descendants considered of sufficient importance to be handed down to posterity.

Plutarch[c] informs us, that the Aenianes, in their wanderings before their final settlement, approached and were desirous of obtaining possession of the country occupied by the Inachians, a people so called from the river Inachus. They were commanded by Phenicus, whilst the leader of the Inachians was named Hyperochus. The oracle having been consulted by both parties, the former were informed they would succeed in their enterprise if they could obtain by free-will any part of the contested land; and the reply to the latter was, that they would inevitably lose their soil if they voluntarily ceded any part of it to their adversaries. Amongst the Aenianes was a man of consideration, named Temon, who, disguising himself as a beggar, approached the Inachians, demanding charity; and so miserable was his appearance, that Hyperochus, by way of derision, threw him a handful of earth, with which Temon immediately decamped. The Inachians, reminded of the oracle by the satisfaction and flight of Temon, were too late to stop him: Temon had safely joined his friends, and vowed a sacrifice to Apollo.

In this state of affairs, the rival chiefs having defied each other to single combat, Phenicus, waiting for his enemy, and remarking his approach accompanied by his dog, called out to him that it was unfair to bring with him a companion; and whilst Hyperochus was engaged in driving away

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[c] Quaest. Graec. 13.

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the animal, Phenicus hurled a stone from his sling with such precision, that the Inachian chief was slain.[3]

In consequence of this victory, unworthy as it appears, the Aenianes banished the inhabitants, and possessed themselves of their lands; and Plutarch adds, that, from that time, the stone which caused the death of Hyperochus became an object of sanctity and veneration; sacrifices were awarded to it, and on those occasions it was customary to envelope it in the fat of the victim; a solemn offering was made to Apollo, as well as a bull sacrificed to Jupiter, when the choicest parts of the victim were reserved for the descendants of Temon.

On examination of the figure observed on the coins of the Aenianes, there can be but little doubt it is intended to represent the hero Phenicus, in the act of discharging from his sling the stone which slew Hyperochus, when he was waiting the appointed combat. The sling was perhaps the first weapon used on these occasions; and if not effectual, we find the chief prepared for closer combat, by the two spears, which are invariably seen by his side on all the coins yet published. I perfectly agree with those writers who ascribe a religious motive for all the types found upon ancient Greek coins, nor is there any inconsistency in the explanation I propose, for I presume the subject partakes both of a political and mythological character. If the stone with which Phenicus slew his adversary was held sacred, as Plutarch informs us, there exists good reason to suppose that divine honours were also offered to Phenicus, as a demi-god, or, at all events, a hero.

There are other coins of the Aenianes, where a naked

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[3] A similar stratagem was practised by Melanthus, king of Athens, in a combat with Xanthus, king of Bœotia.

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figure is represented on the reverse; but instead of a sling, he is armed with a javelin and a shield. This is possibly intended for the same personage; the subject may have been treated variously by different artists, or it may refer to some other exploit of the same hero, with which history has not made us acquainted. Both were probably copied from pictures or statues deposited in some temple where he received divine honours.

Yours sincerely,

H. P. BORRELL.

Smyrna, 8th Nov. 1839.

To J. W. BURGON, Esq., London.
For the Ed. of the Num. Chron.

XXIII.

SCEATTAS.

I AVAIL myself of the opportunity presented by the Numismatic Chronicle, of communicating a few observations on the difficult and hitherto neglected subject of sceattas. The present remarks embrace a few only of these singular coins, and shall be continued at some future opportunity.

Several of the sceattas are marked with the characters usually called *Runic;* and hence an argument has been hastily drawn, that all the coins on which they appear belong to a period posterior to the Danish invasion of England. Runes were, however, assuredly used by our Saxon ancestors long before the sea-kings of the north infested the English shores; there is good reason to believe that they were common to all the various tribes of the north of Europe; that they were known to the Saxons

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before their conquest of Britain; and that the invention of them was ascribed to Odin, to whom the Saxons, as well as the Scandinavian nations, traced the descent of their kings. It is probable that the earliest alphabets of all the nations of the north consisted of Runic letters; that as Christianity was promulgated, they gradually fell into disuse, until, in the ninth and tenth centuries, they were esteemed merely as magical charms. As proofs of their early use among the Saxons, we may quote the coin of Offa, on the reverse of which the moneyer's name, *Botred*, is in Runic letters, ᛒᚩᛏᚱᛗᛞ; the stycas of Eanred, of Northumberland, with ᛒᚱᚠᚹᛗᚱ and ᚹᛁᛏᚱᛗᛞ, as moneyers, and several instances of their appearance on *rings*, *tombs*, &c. The learned Hicks, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, pages 136, 137, and 148, and in the 2d, 4th, 5th, and 6th tables of his Icelandic Grammar, presents us with fac-similes of Anglo-Saxon MSS., containing Runes, and alphabets formed from them. Now, then, alphabets of letters used by the Saxons, differ materially from those in his first table, which are composed, for the most part, of the characters which occur on Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic monuments. On reference to the coins, we find letters which belong exclusively to the, we may say, Anglo-Saxon alphabets, as ᚩ, ᛗ, ᛝ, ᛞ for A, E, P, & S; and some others of more frequent appearance, common to those of Danish, as well as Saxon origin. This is a point of great importance, inasmuch as it strengthens the appropriation of those coins to the early Saxon kings. I would further remark, that not one of the four characters first mentioned above appears in any one of the tables of the Runes, given by Olaus Wormius, in his work on Ancient Danish Literature.

In illustration of the foregoing remarks, we have a coin

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engraved in Ruding, Pl. XXVI. Fig. 4 (the original of which is in the British Museum), which, on the obverse, presents a head, bearing a closer resemblance than any others to coins of Roman fabric, and which may, on that account, be considered of earlier date than most of, if not all, the rest. The head appears to wear a helmet, and around it is an inscription, which, from being imperfect, is unintelligible. The most curious point connected with it is the singularity of its reverse, which contains, what may be called, a monogram, occupying nearly the whole field of the coin. An examination of the figure will satisfy the reader that the piece is reversed in Ruding's plate, that the cross may stand uppermost. The monogram is

in an oblong compartment, and evidently contains the letters ᛞ ᛚ ᛖ ᛞ F, SLEDA, or, as the character ᛞ frequently expresses DD, *Sledda*. The alphabets which contain these letters are Nos. 2, 3, 5, 8, of Hicks's second table, and those in his sixth, "Ex cordice MS. Galba, A 2."

From the prominence of this monogram on the reverse of the coin, I suspected that it concealed the name of a king, till an examination of one of the alphabets in Hicks, Tab. VI., led me to explain it thus, and inclines me to think that we have here a coin of *Sledda*, who swayed the east Saxon sceptre from A.D. 587 to 596.

The other coins which have Runic legends, unfortunately present very few letters, and are in consequence much more difficult of explanation. There is one exception, however, on which a few letters, of a different class to those noticed above, are found, and which is rather more easy to

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interpret. I mean the coin generally attributed to Ethelbert I., who ascended the throne of Kent, A.D. 560. Mr. Lindsay, in his remarks on this sceatta, seeing only the letters *Edili*, and calling to recollection the many Saxon kings whose names begin thus, inclined to consider it as belonging to the south Saxon king Edilwalch, whose short reign terminated in 618. The peculiarity of the Runes on this piece was not noticed by him, and I believe it has been generally read *Edili Reix*. Were that the proper reading, I would prefer assigning it to the East Anglian king Ethelpere, A.D. 654. I have not seen the original of Ruding's figure (Pl. III. Fig. 1), but the letter which is called I is in the engraving evidently joined to the X, so as to make it ᛞ, the D of many Runic alphabets. It is not unusual to meet with Saxon and Runic characters intermixed, as we see them here, and I would read it thus, EPIᚹIREᛞ or EÐELERED; and the only further question is, to whom, of all the kings of that name, it must be appropriated. We have Ethelred, of Mercia, A.D. 675; of East Anglia, 749; and of Northumberland, 774: and I think the first of these is the individual to whom we must give it. What the figure on the reverse of this can be intended for, I cannot divine. That the vertical strokes are not for the legs of a beast, is, I think, evident, from a comparison of this with No. 16, Pl. XXVI., where we have XII; No. 15 of the plate of sceattas, published many years ago by Mr. White, resembling this last, but with III, and here we have IIII. If these be numerals, as perhaps they may, I can assign them no use, or give any reason for their appearance, satisfactory to myself. The letters TITI, placed in a square compartment, afford a clue for connecting a very large number of these coins; and if any meaning can be given to them, it will be facilitated by comparison of the numerous varieties.

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Those in Ruding's first plate, 7 and 8, present, on one side, an uncouth figure, similar to that which we have observed on the coin just ascribed to the Mercian Ethelred, and, on the other, TITI, in a square. We find these letters again on No. 9, Pl. II., which has, on the obverse, the legend common to many others, , which I confess myself unable to explain. On figure 13 of the same plate TITI occurs, not only within the square, but twice without it: 8, 10, and 12 differ from the foregoing, in having the Runic ᚴ for T. On figure 14, and 22 to 25, we find TITI again in a square; but on the observe of these last we read TIC, instead of . We see them again on Fig. 19, alternately with annulets, round a cross. No question can, I think, arise, but that all these coins belong to the same kingdom, and perhaps, also, to the same king. Most of them are distinguished by the letter A, which, I agree with Mr. Lindsay in thinking, may be the initial of *Angli*, and refer to the East Anglian kingdom. It appears to me, that all these coins belong to a period long prior to the Danish invasion. I would, in my turn, hazard a conjecture, that the letters TITI, so often repeated, indicate the name of *Titilus* or *Titila*, one of the earliest East Anglian kings, who began his reign in 578, and was succeeded by Redwald, in A.D. 593. This happens to coincide with Mr. Lindsay's remarks on the same subject, as that gentleman assigns similar coins, with the letters EO, EADL, ALDVLI, to the East Anglian sovereigns Eorpwald, Ethelpere, and Aldulf. On this ground, then, we may give the first 14 figures in Ruding's first plate, and perhaps 18; 8 to 14, 19 and 20, 22 to 25, and perhaps also 15 to 17, in his second plate, to the kingdom of East Anglia.

Those sceattas, on which we find a full-length figure, holding two crosses, and those on which are represented

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two effigies, occasionally with a cross between them, constitute a large and not unimportant class of these curious coins. I think it not unreasonable to conclude, that many of the latter have a historical meaning, and may indicate sometimes an alliance between two sovereigns of different kingdoms, or bear the effigies of two joint rulers of the same country. Whilst, however, the types of many coins of this class, and their designs, are familiar, a closer examination brings to our notice several peculiarities, which shew that, even if belonging to the same kingdom, they are not of cotemporary execution.

I proceed to mention different varieties of coins of this class, and to specify the peculiarities of each.

In Mr. White's plate, No. 11 has, on one side, a full-length figure, with a head-dress similar to that on 27, Pl. I. (Ruding), and on the other, a bird walking, with a cross inclined above it, which type also occurs on the obverse of 24, Pl. I., and which exact correspondence convinces me that the two coins are of the same date. No. 19 of White's plate has, on the obverse, a figure similar to that on No. 11; reverse, an animal, the same as that which appears on 27 Pl. I. (Ruding). On the reverse of White's figure No. 5, and Ruding's Pl. XXVI., No. 10, we have an animal, the same in form and workmanship, as those last mentioned, but on the obverse two figures, each of whom holds a cross, and a cross of pellets separates them. The connection between each of the above-mentioned coins is so strong, that I have little hesitation in assigning them to one kingdom. The two on which the figure of a man appears, holding two crosses, seem connected with No. 12, Pl. XXVI., on which we have a half figure, with the same insignia; and that on which two figures appear, with a reverse connecting it with one of the last, resembles in

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design No. 8, Pl. XXVI.; so that each of these coins presents us with a link to connect it with the rest, and to shew, that the whole belong to one district, and to one or more kings, immediately succeeding one another. With them we may perhaps associate the curious piece, figured in White's plate No. 16, which has on one side a figure holding a cross in one hand, and a bird, perhaps a hawk, in the other. Of these coins, No. 8, Pl. XXVI., will help us to assign a period to the whole. Here we have two busts, with a cross between them, and it is most reasonable to suppose it to have been struck by the authority of two co-regnant kings. Fortunately there are not many instances of two partners on the throne of any of the Heptarchic kingdoms; so that we cannot be far wrong in assigning the piece under discussion to the East Saxon princes Sebfi and Seglere, who began their reign in 663. On many of the coins last mentioned, and on some of those of which I am about to speak, we may discover imitations of the Byzantine coinage; but though a comparison of one class with the other is interesting, as illustrating the origin of the types of these sceattas, it is little to our present purpose.

We come now to No. 1, Pl. XXVI., the reverse of which has two figures, apparently military. This piece bears some resemblance to the small brass coins of the Constantines, on which are two soldiers with legionary standards, and "GLORIA EXERCITVS." The type of the obverse of this coin agrees with No. 11, Pl. XXIX., one of the most curious of all. The figures on the reverse of this have more the appearance of ecclesiastics than those of any of the others. The sceatta which Mr. Burgon found in Sheppey, figured in the first number of the Numismatic Chronicle, has, on the obverse, a head like the two last, and on the reverse, a square, which again appears on No. 11,

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Pl. XXVI. As a square appears on the coins I have assigned to the kingdom of East Anglia, I think it not improbable that these four coins have the same origin.

Two coins in Pl. I., Nos. 28 and 29, having the square on the reverse, may be assigned to the same kingdom. On the obverse of each is a head with a cross in front. As it has been conjectured, that those sceattas which bear the cross in this manner belong to those princes who first embraced the Christian religion, we may, in the absence of better grounds of appropriation, assign these coins to Eorpwald, the first converted king of East Anglia. The other coins, which have the cross on their obverses, are entirely different from these; and I shall reserve the consideration of them, as well as the rest not noticed at present, for a future occasion.

Before concluding, I would offer a few remarks on the sceattas in Ruding's 9th plate. On the obverse of both may be read, *Beonna Rex*, with this difference, that in No. 2, the letters N and A are expressed in Runic characters. There seems to be some confusion in the annals of East Anglia, from the commencement to the middle of the eighth century. It is agreed that a king of the name of *Beorne* ascended the throne in or about the year 690; and to this prince, it is most probable, that the sceattas belong. Another of the same name divided the kingdom with Ethelred in 749, and died in 758, leaving his partner in sole possession of the throne.[1]

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[1] A.B. quod sub anno 749. Sim. Dunelmensis et Chronicon de Mailross, Hunbearum, et Albertum Ælfwoldo successisse referunt et regnum divisisso. Sed cum Matth. Westmonast. illos Beonnam et Athelbertam nominari voluit, hunc Hunbearum non alium arbitror quam Beonnem super dictum, nec Athelbertum alium quam Ethelredum Ethelwaldi filium, qui post obitum Beornæ solus regnavit 749.—*Tab. Chronolog. affixed to Hicks's Thesaurus.*

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In Mr. Lindsay's remarks on these coins, he seems to have considered them as struck by the joint authority of Ethelred and Beonna; and supposes that the letters E F E are only the initials of the name of Ethelred, Beonna's partner, or "three crowns, the Ensign of East Anglia."

There is, in the collection of the British Museum, a very curious penny, which seems to have been struck by the joint authority of Ethelred and Beonna. Its type very closely resembles those *deniers* of Charlemagne and his successors, which read on the reverses, *Christiana Religio.* The proximity of the East Anglian kingdom to the continent of Europe will sufficiently account for the similarity which this unique coin bears to the money of France, whilst the date of Beonna's death, 758, will even warrant a conclusion, that the piece under discussion was the original, instead of a copy.

Yours respectfully,

L. Y. H.

10*th October*, 1839.

XXIV.

UNEDITED COINS OF ASIA.

By Samuel Birch, Esq.

Assistant in the Depart. of Antiq. Brit. Mus., Assist. Sec. for the English Section of the Archæological Institute of Rome.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 28, 1839.]

LEUCO II., KING OF THE BOSPHORUS.

Obv.—An oval shield; behind it a spear crossing the field.
R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕ.. [?] ΛΕΥΚΩΝ.. A bow in its case. Æ. 3½.
(*British Museum.*)

Although the above coin is not fabricated upon the type of the tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, it must probably be attributed to the second Leucon, as it bears the

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title of βασιλέως.[1] The shield and spear of the obverse are analogous to those held by the old crouching figure on the brass coins of the town of Chersonesus,[2] in the Bosphorus; but the shield of the present coin differs in the shape of the centre, and in being more oval. The reverse, although far from distinct, has the bow placed in its case; and the βασιλέως is rather indistinct, although the Λευκών.. is clear. The mystery and difficulty which hangs over the early succession of the Bosphorus demands more medallic light before it can be satisfactorily cleared, or the chronology fixed. The reverse is similar to the brass currency of Philip, of the town of Panticapea, Phanagoria, and the Bosphorus generally, and it was probably struck in the Asiatic territories of the rulers of the Bosphorus.

TAURIC CHERSONESE (*Uncertain*).

Obv.—Head in a Phrygian bonnet, with long lappets.
℞.—..A..star of eight points, and centre bow. Æ. 7.
(*Brit. Mus.*)

The fabric of this coin apparently shews that its locality is that of the Tauric Chersonese, it being thick, beaten up, and of the peculiar style of Panticapea, Heraclea, &c. It is well known that the worship of the Dioscuri partially prevailed in this locality; but it is not certain whether the head on the present specimen is male or not.

CHALCEDON.

Obv.—Head[3] of Alexander the Great, or of Lysimachus, in a ram's horn profile to the right.
℞.—ΚΑΛΧΑΔΟΝΙΩΝ. Minerva Nikephora seated to the left. Monogram [Mion. Pl. XV. c. 1379]. Exergue, an ear of barley. Æ. 4. (*Cabinet of the Bank of England*).

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[1] Köhler, Descr. d'une Médaille de Spartocus, Roi de Bosphore. fol. St. Petersburgh. 1824.

[2] Ibid. Pl. II., and p. 55. This Eckhel supposes to represent Achilles; and Köhler, the founder of the city.

[3] Köhler, Médaille de Spartocus. fo. St. Pet.

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This beautiful, and, I believe, unique little drachm of Chalcedon, is unedited, for it does not appear in any of the published lists. The head is the same as that on the usual currency of Lysimachus, and is probably that of Alexander. The present coin in a singular manner confirms the reading of Eckhel[4] on the tetradrachm published by him of Lysimachus, with ΚΑΛΚΑ[δονιων] on the exergue; and other types of the same monarch occur with ΚΑΛΧΑ[5] on the *seat* or field. The drachm of the Bank Cabinet not only proves the conjecture of Eckhel to be correct, but is the key to the whole currency of the Thracian monarch, as I will shew in the course of the present paper. The connection of Lysimachus with the Bithynian town has been hitherto far from satisfactorily explained, although some of the suppositions of the learned Eckhel must be correct, while the existence of these types proves that a strict relationship existed between the opposite shore of the Hellespont, and that these coins must have been struck in Asia Minor. An ear of barley appears on the exergue of the tetradrachm; and this symbol is common to the early autonomous types of Chalcedon, with a bull standing. At a remote period, ὁμονοίαι or alliances, existed between Byzantium and Chalcedon, and several of the coins on this account are of uncertain attribution, having ΒΥ[6] and ΚΑΛΧΑ upon them; while the tetradrachms of the two states bear so remarkable a resemblance in type, size, and execution, that they appear almost to have issued from the

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[4] Vet. Num. An. p. 62. Tab. V. fig. 11.

[5] Mionnet i. p. 439 20. Vol. ii. p. 553. Also a tetradrachm.

[6] One reads ΒΥΖΑΣ, beneath the prow of a ship, and ΚΑΛΧΑ. Bandelot, Utilité des Voyages. 8vo. Rouen, 1727. Tom ii. Pl. IV., vol. ii, p. 283. It is a brass coin.

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same mint. To Chalcedon I would also assign the other tetradrachms which have in the exergue the ear of barley, as well as those quoted in Mionnet with ΚΑΛ or ΚΑΛΧΑ, and possibly that with Κ simply in the exergue, as the coins of this sort in the collection of the British Museum sufficiently approximate in general character, to have issued from the same state. The monogram is possibly ΔΙ, or that in Mionnet, Pl. II. No. 158, the initial of the name of a magistrate; for the second form appears upon the large autonomous tetradrachm, while ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΥ, in full, is on the tetradrachm of Eckhel: probably the name of the archon or strategos of the town, whose name roughly marked the epoch of the autonomous currency, similarly to the consulship of the Romans, especially where the state did not make use of a particular epoch for calculation. The autonomous types of cities frequently present two series of letters, one indicating the locality of the coin, and the other the name of the magistrate; and this principle I believe to have been preserved down to the very period of the Roman sway, while the conquests of Alexander effected an important revolution in the autonomous mints, especially of Asia Minor; for, upon the universal subjugation of the East to this Conqueror, the various towns and states struck their currency upon the model of the Macedonian, with the addition of various emblems peculiar to their own jurisdiction, to indicate[7] the peculiar locality for which the coin was struck. No one who has accurately examined the large series of tetradrachms struck in honour of Alexander, having *Phœnician* as well as Greek legends, can fail to assent to the truth of

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[7] Eckhel. Num. Vet. An. p. 65, *si omnes hujus generis numos variis in urbibus Alexandri imagine cusos.* Pellerin. Medailles des Rois, pp. 12—et seq.

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this proposition: they differ in weight, size, execution, monograms, names, attributes, &c.; and it is scarcely probable that this infinite variety of currency issued from a central mint. As these coins are at present under the examination of the distinguished Greek archæologist, the Chevalier Brönsted, I shall not at present touch upon them, except for the purpose of illustrating the coins of the Thracian monarch. Bearing in mind the clue afforded by the mint of Chalcedon, the first set of coins which can be satisfactorily assigned are those of Byzantium, having upon the seat BY, for Βυζαντίνων, and a trident in the exergue. The tetradrachms of Byzantium are characterised by a spread, size, and peculiar character of work, which, from Eckhel's drawing, seems to have been copied by the Bithynian mint. The clue afforded by this important coin to the mint marks found on the Thracian currency, encourages the attempt to assign some of the other symbols, although they do not appear, in all instances, to be accompanied by the names of towns.

1. BY upon the seat. Ex. a trident placed horizontally. Rude peculiar workmanship. Flat, thin tetradrachm, &c. Byzantium in Thrace.[8]

2. A monogram [Mion. Pl. vi. 493] on the seat. Exergue, MH · ME [Μητροπολίτων Μεγάλων—?]. Club placed vertically before the feet of the Minerva; character of work similar to the preceding. Tetradrachm flat, thin, and smaller. Heraclea of Thrace.[9]

3. TO on the seat. Exergue, a trident. Nearly the same fabric as Byzantium, but rather ruder and flatter. Gold coin. Tomi, in Lower Mœsia.[10]

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[8] Cabinet of the Museum. Dedicated to Neptune. Trident, symbol of the autonomous coins.

[9] Cabinet of the Museum. See Rasche, Lexicon, Rei Num., verb. Heracleæ. Imperial types, with HPAKΛEΩTAN · MATPO-ΠOΛITAN are attributed by Sestini and Mionnet to Heraclea of Bithynia.

[10] Same cabinet.

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4. ΙΣ, on the authority of Eckhel, upon the seat. I have never seen the coin, but it probably belongs to Istrus of Thrace.
5. A monogram (Mionnet, Pl. III. No. 187). Exergue, in the field the anterior parts of two horses joined inversely. This type is peculiar to Perinthus, as the drachmæ of that locality offer it. The monograms, in the Museum specimen, are indistinct. Perinthus of Thrace.
6. ΚΑΛ, perhaps ΚΑΛ[λατα]. Some of these coins must not be confounded with those of Chalcedon. Callata in Thrace.
7. Exergue, an ear of wheat. This symbol is also an adjunct on the coins of Callata, which had a currency nearly contemporaneous. It must be distinguished from the ear of barley, which is peculiar to Chalcedon.
8. ΚΑΛΚΑ, ex. or on the seat. These coins were the very first assigned. One bears the name Εκαταίου—'*Under Hecatæus.*" Chalcedon Bithyniæ [*vide supra*].
9. Ear of barley in the exergue. Chalcedon in Bithynia.
10. ΕΦ, and in the field a fly under the seat (a monogram, Cadalv. Pl. V. No. 2). Ephesus in Ionia.[11]
11. A monogram composed of the characters AP. In the field, a fly, or a lamp and a fly. These symbols are peculiar to Lampsacus and Aradus, Larissa and Amphipolis. The tetradrachms of Alexander, with the fly and AP, have been assigned to Aradus in Phœnicia. It may, however, belong to Ephesus, as the name of the city was changed for that of Arsinoe by Lysimachus. Aradus or Ephesus ?[12]
12. Pentagon. Ex. symbol peculiar to Pitane. On this coin is also the anterior part of a horse. Pitane in Mysia.[13]
13. Lamp in the field. The coins of Alexander, with a lamp in the field, and Λ above it, or near it, have been very justly assigned to Lampsacus, as the lamp was the logograph of the city. The same type, however, appears on the coins of Amphipolis, in Macedon. The specimen cited has the monogram (Mionnet, Pl. XV. 6. No. 1264), and on the seat Φ?
14. Old terminal figure placed upon a pedestal. It is uncertain whether this figure is a terminal Jupiter or Priapus : the distinctive mark of the latter deity is wanting. Two of these types bear in the exergue Σκοστόκου, a name appa-

[11] Cadalvene, Med. Grec. Ined. 4to. Par. 1828. p. 31. So assigned by him.

[12] Eckhel, Vet. Num. An. p. 72. Cadalvene, Med. Gr. In. p. 33.

[13] Idem. p. 34.

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rently Thracian, as Spartokos is a well known king of that line; but I am not aware of any autonomous type with this form. Within the Thracian dominions of this monarch, the worship of Priapus did not exist; but it prevailed at Nicopolis and Istrus, in Lower Mœsia.[14]

15. A spiral on the seat. This symbol appears upon the small brass coins of the kings of Pergamus. Some of the Gaulish coins, imitated evidently from the currency of Asia Minor, as they bear the sword of the reverses of Amisus Ponti, &c., have on the reverse a horse, above this spiral; beneath, the pentagon of Pitane. These tetradrachms are probably Asiatic.[15]

Many other symbols occur; and although some of them might be ultimately satisfactorily identified, it requires greater leisure than I can command to pursue this important and fascinating subject. The stars, the caduceus, lyre, &c., too often occur upon autonomous types to be identified easily, although some of these symbols may refer to Ænos, Miletos, Methymna, and other Thracian and Asiatic towns, and the history of Lysimachus is enveloped in much obscurity: the evidence of his currency, however, points to conquests and possessions in Asia.

CROMNA.[16]

Obv.—Female head in a mitre; profile to the left.
R.—KPΩM. Amphora. Æ. 3.

Obv.—Do.
R.—The same. Æ. 3.

Obv.—Do., counter-marked with a wheel.
R.—The same. Same counter-mark. Æ. 3. (*Brit. Museum.*)

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[14] This symbol is accompanied by Skostokos, and various monograms. No name of any city appears, or initials, and the monograms probably represent the names of magistrates. Similar figures appear on coins of Ænos.

[15] ATEVLA, winged, bust profile to the right. R...TOS, horse; above, spiral; beneath, pentagon. Æ. 3. [B. M.]

[16] For information relative to this state, compare Hom. Il. B. 255; Strab. xiii. p. 820; Apoll. Argonaut. ii. 944; Tszetzes ad Lycophron, 522; Val. Flacc. Argon. ii. 105; Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 2; Ptol. Cellarius. Ant. Geog., &c.

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No brass coins of this town have been published. The female head is that of Juno, who, along with Jupiter, seems to have been especially worshipped here. The ornament upon the head is what was probably called by later writers the mitra,[17] and is a sort of cylindrical cap,[18] ornamented or embroidered with flowers. When placed as a fillet round the head, it seems to have been termed the kredemnos, and was worn by Bacchus; and both the mitra and kredemnos were peculiar to Asiatic deities; as Venus, Juno, Bacchus, and the barbaric females of Greek myths, as Medea. These coins are mentioned in Mr. Borrell's MS. catalogue as coming from Sinope.

TABA CARIÆ.

Obv.—Head of Gallienus. Legend effaced.
R.—APX · IACONOC · TABHNΩN. Pan walking to the left.
Æ. 6. (*British Museum.*)

No type of Pan appears in the lists of Mionnet. The letters are exceedingly indistinct, but a reiterated inspection justifies the reading above given. The mode of placing the letters is exceedingly curious, the leading ones of each word being joined at the base.

SINOPE PONTI.

Obv.—Head of the nymph Sinope turned to the left.
R.—ΣINΩΠ · AΣTY. . Eagle preying upon the tunny fish. Æ. 6.

The type of this coin exhibits no difference from those already published; but the name of the magistrate is new. The letters are placed above the wings of the eagle, and the last is imperfect, owing to the common want of mechanical finish in Greek coins. It is almost impossible to attempt to restore the name, so many commencing with

[17] Juv. Sat. iii. 66.

[18] Virgil Æn. ix. See Servius. Pilea sunt virorum, mitræ fæminarum quas calanticas appellant. Confer. Cicero in Clodium Cælius Rhodiginus, Ant. Lat. c. 19.

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this word, as, Αστυδαμας, Αστυνοος, &c. The specimens of the currency in the national collection exhibit the following names of magistrates:

A	ΠΥΘΙΠ
APTE	ΘΕΟΤ
ΑΣΤΥ	M
Γ	NH or ΑΗ
KAPI	
KT	

ADRAMYTTIUM MYSIÆ.

Obv.—Bust of Pallas helmeted to the left.
R.—..ΔPAMY....Eagle standing. Æ. 1½. (*British Museum.*)

Inedited: there is nothing very remarkable in the type. The legend is unfortunately indistinct, but the remains prove the assignment to be correct.

LAODICEA PHRYGIÆ.

Obv.—ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ. Bearded head bound with the strophium.
R.—ΙΟΥΛΙΟC · KOTYC. Æ. 3. (*British Museum.*)

The bearded head probably represents the *demos* or people of Laodicea. The *sunkletos*, or senate, was also occasionally thus personified. This coin was probably struck during the period of the Roman domination, as imperial types of the reign of Titus, of this city, occur with a magistrate named Γαιος Ιουλιος Κοτυς (Caius Julius Cotus), without any magisterial title, although he was probably the archon of the city at that period. Numerous instances, indeed, prove that while the larger brass currency, during the domination of the Romans, bore the imperial head and titles, the smaller frequently remained autonomous.

SYRIA.—ANTIOCHUS V.

Obv.—Head of Antiochus, diademed; profile to the right.
R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ · ANTIOXOY · ΑΣΚ · ΕΥΠΑΤΟ. Ex. Apollo seated upon the omphalos, holding the bow and arrow, usual type. Æ. 3. (*British Museum.*)

This coin, which belonged to Mr. Warmington's collection, has also been recently acquired by the British

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Museum. The type is not new, but the letters ΑΣΚ clearly point out that it was fabricated at Ascalon, in Judea. The date would not coincide with the era of the Seleucidæ, and the moneyers carefully avoided any equivoque, by placing the letters in such a manner as not to form a sense: they generally followed the order of the notation. The peculiarity in this coin is, that the letters ΑΣΚ appear prominently in the field, while the Eupator, a royal title, is thrown down to the exergue. Behind the head of the obverse is AR.

SYRIA.—DEMETRIUS II. [PHILADELPHOS NIKATOR].

Obv.—Head of Demetrius; profile to the right; diademed.
R.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ · ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ · ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ · ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Athene Nikephora standing looking to the left; area, a branch. Ex. monogram (Min. Pl. I. 28, V. 417). Æ. 8. (*British Museum.*)

The above fine tetradrachm, which belonged to the collection of Mr. Warmington, has recently passed into the cabinet of the Museum. The type occurs in the list of M. Mionnet; but it differs in the monograms and letters of the exergue. The fact of its being unedited was noticed by Mr. Burgon, who has kindly allowed me to add this and the former to my list of unedited coins.

TROCMI GALATIÆ.

Obv.—ΤΡΟΚΜΩΝ. Jupiter in a chair, seated: full face.
R.—CEBACTHNΩN (inversely). Bull walking to the left. Æ. 6. (*British Museum.*)

Few or almost no autonomous types of the Trocmi are known; and this coin commemorates a fact relative to the local history of Galatia. At an early period, after the invasion of Greece by Brennus,[19] Leonorius and Lutarius left their countrymen with a large number of troops, and crossed into Asia from Byzantium, to the assistance of Nikomedes, king of Bithynia, against his brother Zibœatas.

[19] Livy, xxxviii. 16.

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From that time[20] the Gauls kept pouring into Asia Minor, and were at last compelled to settle permanently in the inland portion, subsequently called Galatia, by a check they received from Attalus I., king of Pergamus.[21] They, however, maintained their independence, under tetrarchs and monarchs, till A.C. 25, when they became a Roman province. At the time of Deiotarus, Greek was the language of the district, although a dialect of the Gallic[22] was preserved till a later period. After the era of Augustus, the province was incorporated with that of Paphlagonia; and if the term CEBACTHNΩN be taken in an adjective sense, it must refer to the imperial favour; for the present coin, although autonomous, was struck about the period of the Augustan era. The Trocmi,[23] who, together with the Tectosages, Tolistobogii, Teutobodiaci or Toutobogii, the Vituri, and the Ambitui, inhabited the province, were settled to the east; and the bull,[24] on the obverse, probably refers to the rearing of cattle, which seems to have been extensively practised there. The figure upon the other side is that of Jupiter, seated, full face. The well known reverse of the coins of Deiotarus,[25] viz. an eagle standing upon a thunderbolt, evidences that Jupiter was worshipped in Galatia, while oxen were peculiarly sacred to him. Both of these types occur upon the reverses of Imperial Greek, of Trocmi; and the types of Galatia often present the seated figure of Jupiter Keraunios, while fables relative to Jupiter, of an extraordinary kind, were current as traditions among the Galatians.[26]

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20 Clinton, Fast. Hell. iii. p. 424.
21 Liv. xxxviii. 21; Polybius, xviii. 24.
22 Hieronymus, Scts. Prolegomena in Epist. ad Gal.
23 The three first were the most prominent tribes. Plin. v. 42.
24 Cicero, Oratio. Pro. Deiot., c. 9.
25 Mionnet, vol. iv.
26 Paus. fol. Han. 1613; Achaic. liv. v. p. 430, l. 10—50; Vaillant, Hist. Ars. ii. p. 307. 8vo. Par. 1728.

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I may here correct a mistake which has arisen with regard to the appellation *Sebastenon*, which has attracted the attention of, but has not been much cleared up by, an erudite geographer of Germany.[27]

This term, which had only been found applied to the Tectosages, upon the authority of a coin published by Eckhel[28] of the Σεβαστηνων Τεχτοσαγων, and upon the authority of two inscriptions, one published by Gruter, and the other by Tournefort,[29] mentioning "the council and people of the Augustan Tectosages," had led some to suspect that the Sebasteni were a people of Galatia, which the authority of Pliny rather confirmed, as he mentions the Seleucenses and Sebasteni; but the last name is not supported by any other authority,[30] and the medallic evidence clearly shews, both from the autonomous and imperial types, that they must be the "Augustan Trocmi" and the "Augustan Tectosages."

XXV.

RESTITUTION TO THE CITY OF EPHESUS (WHEN CALLED ARSINOE) OF THE COINS HITHERTO ATTRIBUTED TO ARSINOE, IN CYRENIACA, AND TO ARSINOE, IN CILICIA.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 28, 1839.]

The battle fought on the plains of Phrygia, 301 years B.C., in which Antigonus was deprived both of his empire and his life, left his conqueror, Lysimachus, in possession of the greater part of Lower Asia; and it was then, when comparatively secure from the opposition of his rivals, that he

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[27] Mannert, Geographie. 8vo. 1802. Nürnberg. Klein-Asien. p. 52.

[28] Doc. Num. Vet. p. 179.

[29] Lettre xxi. p. 178. In the walls of Ancyra itself.

[30] The others are by those of Ptolemy and Strabo, &c. The mistake of an epithet for an appellation is not impossible.

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employed some of his time in embellishing many of the principal cities. Ephesus was favoured with his peculiar attention. In speaking of this city, Strabo informs us that the more ancient city, or that where Androclus and his followers established themselves, was situated near the Athenæum, the Fountain of Hypelæus, and Mount Coressus; but afterwards, and up to the time of Alexander the Great, the inhabitants had abandoned Coressus, and fixed their habitations in the environs of the Temple of Diana.[1]

With the desire of improving the situation of the city, which, being in a plain, was subject to frequent inundations in winter, and rendered thereby insalubrious, Lysimachus built, or rather extended, the city, to an adjoining eminence.

The Ephesians being unwilling to change their habitations, Lysimachus, it is said, caused the drains to be closed up, which, of course, produced, in the rainy season, a destructive inundation; so that the miserable inhabitants were obliged to remove to the new quarter prepared for them: the experiment, however, was dearly paid for, as Strabo says it cost the lives of ten thousand people.[2] Stephanus relates the fact of the inundation, and the fatal consequences attending it; but attributes the cause entirely to accident, and says nothing of the blocking up of the drains by Lysimachus: on the contrary, he adds that it was in consequence of that calamity, that Lysimachus removed the site.[3]

Be this as it may, both authors agree that at this epoch the city took the name of *Arsinoe*, in honour of the wife of Lysimachus,—a change which only lasted during the life of the king; after whose decease the old name of Ephesus was resumed.

As it is now established by these ancient authorities that

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[1] Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 640. [2] Idem, *loc. cit.*
[3] Steph. Byz. v. Εφεσος.

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the city of Ephesus was called Arsinoe during the latter period of the reign of Lysimachus, it is to this place I intend classing the following coins:—

No. 1.—*Obv.*—Veiled female head (Arsinoe, wife of Lysimachus), to the right.

R.—ΑΡΣΙ · ΓΟΝΕΥΣ. Bow and quiver. In the field, a bee. Æ. 3. (Sestini, Lett. e Diss. Num., tom. ix. Pl. II. Fig. 13.)

No. 2.—*Obv.*—Same head as the preceding.

R.—ΑΡΣΙ · APICTAIOY. Stag, lying down, looking backward. In the field, an *astragalus*. Æ. 3.

It really appears astonishing that so many of the most distinguished medallists, both ancient and modern, should have been so unsuccessful in their attempts to class these coins; and still more so, that the localities to which they assign them, should be so far distant from the place where they were positively struck. Pellerin first published the No. 2,—a coin similar to one in my possession; excepting that the magistrate's name on my specimen (APICTAIOY) is perfectly legible, which is not the case with his.

Pellerin[4] has erroneously supposed his coin to belong to the town of Arsinoe, in Cyrenaica. Neumann, doubting the attribution of Pellerin, has been equally unfortunate in supposing it to belong to the Island of Issa[5]—an error he was led into by the mutilated magistrate's name on Pellerin's coin. Eckhel is the next who notices it;[6] but although he disapproves of the classification proposed by Neumann, he offers no decided opinion of his own: and, lastly, Sestini,[7] differing from his predecessors, wishes to give it to the town of Arsinoe, mentioned by Ptolemy, in Cilicia. The other coin (the No. 1), which is of silver, is only published, I believe, by Sestini, who quotes the royal collection

[4] Pellerin, Rec. tom. iii. p. 11, tab. lxxxvii. fig. 19.
[5] Neumann, Num. Pop. pars 2, p. 153.
[6] Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. tom. iv. p. 127.
[7] Sestini, Lett. e Diss. tom. vii. p. 79.

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at Munich[8]. The engraving he offers, like most of Sestini's engravings, is very miserably executed, and gives but a poor idea of the coin, of which more than one has been in my possession. Sestini, of course, assigns this coin also to Arsinoe, in Cilicia, and remarks, at the same time, that it stands classed, in the Munich cabinet, to Arsinoe, of Crete, by its original proprietor, M. Cousinery; but I have not the least doubt it was struck at the same period, and by the same people, as the No. 2. That those people were the Ephesians, and struck the coin during the short time their city took the name of Arsinoe, in honour of the queen of Lysimachus, I think can be proved, beyond doubt, by the following observations.

In the classification of ancient coins, generally, there is something in the style of the execution, the form of the letters, the symbols, and even the nature of the metal, which, to a practical medallist, become collectively so many criteria for forming an opinion, with some precision, as to the particular province to which the coins belong. The place of their discovery is also a weighty argument in case of need. Pellerin availed himself of one of these guides when he was induced to prefer classing them to Cyrenaica, as he admits that their fabric resembled that of other coins of the same province; but his opinion is divested of all value, since it is now well known, that the identical coins, with which his comparison was made, belong to cities of Asia: that which he gives to Automala, being of Mytilene in the Island of Lesbos, and the other (supposed to be of Phycus), is, as assuredly, of Phygela, a city of Ionia, situated only a few miles from Ephesus. Pellerin's conclusion, therefore, instead of supporting his own classification, is a strong argument in favour of my proposition. If any doubt should

[8] Sestini, Lett. e Diss. Num. tom. ix. p. 111, tab. ii. fig. 13.

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exist of these coins having been struck at Ephesus, during the short period it was called Arsinoe, a comparison of the No. 2, with the coins published by Mionnet, under Ephesus, from Nos. 228 to 234 inclusive, must go far to dispel it. I, of course, confine the comparison to the reverse of the coin. Mionnet's seven coins differ from each other by the names of the magistrates. In other respects, the stag is in the same position as on my coin, and the accessory symbol of the *astragalus* occurs on both. The stag itself is a device sacred to the principal deity of the city, and occurs almost invariably on all the autonomous coins of Ephesus. A still further confirmation is the place of their discovery; of which twenty years' residence in the neighbourhood, and frequent visits to the ruins of Ephesus, is satisfactory proof. I have bought them very frequently with coins of Ionia, and on two occasions have obtained them from the shepherds on the ruins of the ancient city, with other coins bearing the name of Ephesus.

Although the type on the reverse of the silver coin, No. 1, does not occur on the money with the name of Ephesus,[9] yet the symbols are characteristic of the worship of Diana; and as if it had been the artist's intention not to be misunderstood, we find in the field as an accessory type, *a small bee*, a symbol equally general as the stag on the autonomous coinage of the place.

The veiled female head seen on the obverse of both these coins is certainly intended for *the portrait* of Arsinoe, wife of Lysimachus, and sister of Ptolemy Philadelphus. There is a second example of her effigy being impressed on the money of the Chalcidonians, of Bithynia. Her likeness on both cannot be mistaken, if compared with that struck at a later period of her life on the gold coins of Egypt, by her husband and brother, Ptolemy Philadelphus. The

[9] See a note, by the Editor, at the bottom of the next page.

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people of Asia doubtless embraced every opportunity to conciliate the powerful chief in whose hands their destinies reposed. Lysimachus' attachment to his wife is a sufficient reason why she should be represented on their coinage. The influence she exercised over her husband, according to historians, was boundless; consequently, those who by any means could gain the favour of Arsinoe, were sure to be looked upon with indulgence by her devoted husband.

If my classification of these interesting coins is adopted, we have still to look for the money of the two cities Arsinoe,—the one in Cyrenaica, and the other in Cilicia.

Smyrna, 30th October, 1839. H. P. Borrell.

We feel assured that Mr. Borrell, in common with all our readers, will thank us for making known, on this occasion, two very rare and unpublished *silver coins of Ephesus*, of the existence of which Mr. Borrell seems not to be aware, and which bear on the reverse *the identical type of the reverse of the silver coin of Arsinoe*, No. 1, just described by Mr. Borrell.

One of these rare coins is in the cabinet of John Huxtable, Esq., of St. John-street, and weighs 88 grains troy; and the other is in the rich collection of Thomas Thomas, Esq., of Oxford-street, and weighs 85½ grains. They are both of unquestionable authenticity, and are both alike as to type, but the magistrate's name is EXEANA[Ξ] on Mr. Thomas's coin.

This new type, on the silver coins of Ephesus, tends so remarkably to confirm the restitution proposed by Mr. Borrell in his valuable paper, that we could not resist the temptation to illustrate it by a plate. We have accordingly availed ourselves of the kind permission of Mr. Huxtable, to present our readers with an engraving of his beautiful and valuable coin (No. 6, on the plate), placed in juxta-position with the rare coin in the Royal Cabinet at Munich (No. 1, on the plate), being that described as No. 1 in Mr. Borrell's paper. We have been induced to copy the engraving of this coin from Sestini's work, in consequence of the rarity of the book in this country; for it is to tom. ix. of Sestini's *new series*, that Mr. Borrell refers. The other coins of Arsinoe and Ephesus, placed in juxta-position, and numbered 2, 3, and 4, are in the British Museum, and No. 5 in the cabinet of Mr. Burgon (No. 2 being similar to the coin No. 2 in Mr. Borrell's paper); and we think that, after inspecting them, no further comment appears to be necessary to establish the truth and accuracy of Mr. Borrell's ingenious restitution.—Ed.

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XXVI.

MEDALS OF THE PRETENDER.

[Third Series.]

(Continued from p. 132.)

No. 56.—Busts to the right of Prince James and Clementina; he in armour, and mantle and sash over the breast; she with her hair decorated with tiara and beads, with slight drapery. Legend, IACOB · III · R · CLEMENTINA · R [James III., King; Clementina, Queen]. [Hamarani.]

Rev.—A female leaning against a column. She holds in her left arm an infant; with the right hand she points to Great Britain, which appears on a globe by her side. Legend, PROVIDENTIA · OBSTETRIX [Providence the midwife]. Exergue, CAROLO · PRINCE · VALLIÆ · NAT DIE · VLTIMA · A · MDCCXX [Charles Prince of Wales, born the last day of August, 1720].

No. 57.—Busts to the right of Prince James and Clementina. He laureate in armour and mantle; she in mantle, and brooched in front. Legend, IAC · III · ET · CLEM D · G · MAG · BRIT · REG [James III. and Clementina, by the grace of God, reigning in Great Britain].

Rev.—A female figure standing in an awkward position, and holding an infant at nearly arm's length. Legend, SPES BRITANNIÆ [The hopes of Great Britain]. Exergue, CAR · WALL · PR · NATVS · DIE · VLT · A · 1720 [Charles, Prince of Wales, born the last day of August, 1720].

No. 58.—Bust to the right of Prince James, in armour and mantle; a sun on his breast. Legend, VNICA · SALVS [The only safety].

Rev.—On the left, under a tree, sits Britannia weeping; before her is the Hanoverian horse trampling on a lion and unicorn; on the right, a family are emigrating, with their goods: in the distance is London, with the river Thames and London Bridge. Legend, QVID · CRAVIVS · CAPTA [What is more calamitous than a captured city]. Exergue, MDCCXXI [1721].

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No. 59.—Bust to the right of Prince Charles, in armour and ermine mantle; there is a star on the field, near his chin. Legend, MICAT · INTER · OMNES [Strive amongst all].

Rev.—Bust to the left of Prince Henry, full dress; sash over the shoulder; neck bare; flowing hair, tied behind. Legend, ALTER · AB · ILLO [The next to him]. Round the edge, EXTVLIT · OS · SACRVM · COELO · DIE XXXI · DECEMBR · MDCCXX [He has thrust forth his sacred countenance from heaven, 31st December, 1720].

No. 60.—Bust to the right of Prince Charles, in armour and mantle; sash over the breast; cravat; hair tied. Legend, HVNC · SALTEM · EVERSO · IVVENEM [This youth, being overthrown, preserves a heart].

Rev.—Bust to the right of Prince Henry, in armour and mantle; sash over the breast; hair tied. Legend, TRIPLICIS SPES · TERTIA · GENTIS [The third hope of a triple nation].

The following document will fill up a space in the series of medals:

Copy of an official document in the possession of Mr. Haggard, relating to the Pretender, and other matters. Presented to Mr. H. by Mr. Diamond.

A general account of Disbursments made by Brindley Skinner, his Majestie's Consul at Leghorne, from the month of May, 1726, to the time of his late Majestie's death.

1726.		Dols.	Sols.
May 7.	To the postmaster for charges of an express sent Mr. Resident Colman, at Florence, with notice of the Pretender's departure from Rome, given me by an English gentleman who came thence at the same time, and had enquired upon the road the route he took	18	12
— 10.	To a person sent purposely to Pisa and Lucca for intelligence if the Pretender had passed that way	4	0
	Carry over . .	22	12

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		Dols.	Sols.
1726.	Brought over . .	22	12
May 11.	To a postilion watching on the road to Pisa, and thence to Lerici, that the Pretender might not pass unknown to Geneva, and so for Spain, when he left Rome . .	2	7
— 16.	To a snuff-box presented the postmaster for writing to the post officers about Italy to be informed of the Pretender's motions, and other frequent intelligences given to me .	22	13
June 15.	To Mr. Consul Allen's bill for a third part of 254.80 Naples money, the proportion agreed to be paid by this factory, out of their national stock, towards defraying the charges of a law-suit with the farmers of Iron, in the kingdom of Naples, undertaken by Mr. Consul Allen, at my request, in opposition to their unlawful pretence to exact the iron duties on all iron hoops on a board of English vessels, for the use of their cask, when load liquids in the kingdom of Naples, which became a heavy and general imposition on the navigation, and by this law-suit was removed; but by reason of a deficiency in the national fund, the charge thereof fell on me in ducats 84.93, Naples money, which, at 116 per cent., the current exchange, thence made	73	5
Oct. 30.	To expenses in two journeys to Florence, the 12th and 24th of October, upon the Pretender's removal from Rome to Bologna, to assist Mr. Resident Colman to dispatch an express to his Excellency, Mr. Walpole, the King's ambassador at Paris . .	43	4
1727.			
March 17.	To so much paid towards extinction of Thomas Godfrey's bill of dollars 500: from London for expenses in the soliciting an act of parliament for the establishment of a national levy at Leghorne . . .	27	15
" "	To a further sum towards payment of other bills for the same purpose . . .	111	2
	Carry over . .	302	18

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		Dols.	Sols.
	Brought over . .	302	18
March 17.	To chapel rent, from November 1725, to all May 1727, which was agreed by the factory should be paid out of their national stock, dollars 300 per annum; but as that was exhausted, it became irrecoverable, and for eighteen months are, dollars . .	450	0
" "	To diet, lodging, &c. of the parson. Mr. Rowe agreed with the factory to pay me from their national stock dollars 212.10 per annum; but as that was exhausted, it became irrecoverable since Dec. 1725, to all May 1727, and for seventeen months are, dollars	301	0
" "	To manuscripts from Rome, Bologna, Florence, and Vienna, and newspapers from Mantua, &c. dollars 16 per annnm, and postages thereof, dollars 25 per annum, from the time I received my Lord Duke of Newcastle's commands, dated 24th January 1726, to get all possible intelligences as to the Pretender's affairs, and transmit them to his Grace, to all the month of May 1727, are, dollars	58	2
" "	To postages of letters to and from his Grace my Lord Duke of Newcastle's office, and letters thence forwarded for Tunis, Algier, and Tripoly, with account of news on business, to and from the Admiralty Office, relating to their Lordships' affairs, and some few to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, dollars . .	287	10
" "	To impost of the separate account of petty expenses for public services, amounting to livers 482, 16 sols, and 3 deniers, which are, dollars	84	0
	Sum total of dollars . .	1483	10

1483 dollars 10 sols, Leghorne money, at 53¾ pence sterling for each dollar, according to the course of exchange, amount to £332 : 2s. 8d. sterling.

BRINDLEY SKINNER.

Leghorne, the 30th June, 1730.

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No. 61.—Bust to the right of Pope Benedict, in pontifical robes. Legend, BENED · XIV · PONT · M · A · III [Benedict, fourteenth pope, in the third year].

Rev.—A monument to the memory of Clementina. Legend, MEMORIÆ · M · CLEM · M · BRIT · REGINÆ [To the memory of the great Clementina, Queen of Great Britain].

This princess died at Rome, 18th January, 1735, and was interred in St. Peter's, with royal solemnities. It was Pope Clement XII. who ordered an elegant monument to her memory; and his successor, Benedict XIV., to do her further honour, had the above medal struck.

No. 62.—Bust to the right of Prince Charles. No drapery. Legend, CAROLVS · WALLIÆ · PRINCEPS · 1745 [Charles, Prince of Wales].

Rev.—Britannia standing near a rock on the sea shore. In her right hand she holds a spear: her left hand rests on a shield, behind which is a globe. In the distance are ships sailing towards her. Legend, AMOR · ET · SPES [Love and hope]. Exergue, BRITANNIA [Britannia].

No. 63.—The same obverse and reverse, but very much smaller.

No. 64.—A very small bust of Prince Charles, without legend or reverse. This is oval.

No. 65.—Prince Charles in the Highland dress, sword in hand, and a shield over his left breast, bearing round it this legend, QVIS · CONTENDAT · MECVM [Who would encounter me?] At the top of the medal is the date 1749, and on a band round it is this legend, NULLUM NON · MOVEBO · LAPIDEM · VT · ILLVD · ADIPISCAR [I will turn every stone that I may obtain it].

Rev.—In the centre is a large rose, with this legend MEA · RES · AGITVR [I am the party concerned].

No. 66.—Prince Charles in the Highland costume, with a star on his left breast. He points with the fore-finger of the right hand. Looking up at the Prince's face, is a man leaning on a studded shield: he appears to be only two-thirds out of the ground. Legend, CAROLVS · PRINCEPS [Charles the Prince].

Rev.—Fame flying over a city, holding in her left hand the

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English crown: from her trumpet issues this legend, SVVM · CVIQVI [Give every one his own].

No. 67.—Bust to the right of the Duke of Cumberland, in armour; hair flowing over the back, and sash across the breast. Legend, GVLIELMVS · DVX · CVMBRIÆ [William Duke of Cumberland].

Rev.—Prince Charles, in a plaid dress, humbly resting on one knee, with hat in hand, before a lion, crowned; he holds up his hand, apparently to prevent the lion crushing him. Exergue, 1746.

No. 68.—To the left is the Duke of Cumberland, on horseback, with sword in hand. Legend, DUKE · OF · CUMBER.

Rev.—A rebel hanging on a gallows, though it appears they have forgotten to put the rope round his neck. Jack Ketch leans over the gallows; his assistant stands with a rope in each hand, ready to execute two supplicant rebels, on their knees. Legend, MORE · REBELS · A · COMING.

(To be continued.)

XXVII.

RESTITUTION OF SEVERAL COINS HITHERTO SUPPOSED TO BELONG TO THE CITIES OF APOLLONIA, IN LYCIA, AND CARIA, TO APOLLONIA, IN PISIDIA.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 26th, 1839.]

One of the greatest difficulties in numismatics, is the correct classification of coins of cities of which there are several of the same name. Geographers have cited no less than thirty cities called Apollonia. Many coins which have reached us, with the name of Apollonia, are altogether dependent on the medallist's sagacity for their correct attribution.

It is not pretended, that if a coin bear simply the name of Apollonia, the numismatist is to decide be-

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tween the whole of the thirty cities of that name. The fabric, or other marks, to an experienced eye, will sometimes shew if it belongs to Europe or Asia; and again, if he decide upon either of these grand divisions, he can often further distinguish between particular provinces, thus confining the difficulty to three or four cities.

The coins which various authors have described, and attributed to cities of Asia, named Apollonia, belong to the provinces of Mysia, Ionia, Caria, Lycia, and Lydia. It is my intention to propose the restitution of some of them to Apollonia, in Pisidia. Those liable to this change are—

No. 1.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC (Lit. ΔP. in nexu) ΚΤΙCΤ · ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ...Caput Alex. Mag. imberbe, pelle leonis tectum.
R.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ · ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ · ΟΜΟΝ[ΟΙΑ]. Duæ mulieres tutulatæ ex adverso stantes, d. Dianæ Pergææ simulacrum una tenent, intermedia infra ara. Æ. 8. Sestini Lett. e Dissert. Num. tom. vi. p. 36, tab. i. fig. 18, ex Mus. M. Ducis, et Mionnet, Supplt. vi. p. 469, No. 170.

No. 2.—ΑΛΕΞΑ · ΚΤΙC · ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ. Tête d'Alexandre le grand, couverte d'une peau de lion, à droite.
R.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ... · ΚΑΙ · ΑΥΚΙΩΝ · ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. Deux femmes debout, se donnant la main droite et tenant chacune dans la gauche une haste. Æ. 8½. Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 332, and Supplt. vi. p. 469, note.

No. 3.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC · ΚΤΙCΤ · ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤ. Même tête.
R.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ · Κ · ΛΥCΙΑΔΕΩΝ · ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. Deux femmes debout, vêtues de la *stola*, la tête surmontée du *modius*, se donnant la main dr. et tenant dans la gauche, l'une le simulacre d'Apollon, l'autre celui de la Fortune; au milieu d'elles un autel allumé. Æ. 9. Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 332, No. 170.

No. 4.— ΑΛΕΞΑ · ΚΤΙC · ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ. Même tête.
R.—ΙΠΠΟΦΟΡΑC. Fleuve couché à gauche, tenant dans la main droite un roseau, et dans la gauche une corne d'abondance, à côté de lui, une corne d'ou s'échappant des eaux. Æ. 8½. Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 332, No. 172.

Visconti (Icon. Gr. part 2, cap. 2, p. 45, tab. xlix.

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fig. 6) was the first to propose the restitution of those coins with the portrait of Alexander the Great to Apollonia, in Pisidia; and I perfectly concur with him. History leaves us ignorant of any event in the life of Alexander connected with Apollonia in Caria, whereas he passed the winter of 324 B.C. in Pisidia; and it is probable that during that time, the Macedonian conqueror embellished the city then called *Mordiæum*, which entitled him to the epithet of founder. Of the period when it took the name of Apollonia, we are not informed.

I shall shew that the Pisidian Apolloniatæ were originally a colony from the city of the same name in Lycia, which will account for the alliance between the Apolloniatæ and the Lycians, as expressed on the coin described above, No. 2, and with the Pergæans, their neighbours, on No. 1. That with the Lyciadæ, or No. 3, is not so easily explained, as those people inhabited Phrygia; but examples are not rare of similar alliances contracted between people of still more distant cities. Admitting it probable that the four coins above enumerated were struck by the Apolloniatæ of Pisidia, I shall proceed to describe some others struck under the Roman emperors, which certainly belong to them.

Sestini (Descript. Num. Vet. p. 156) cites a coin of Gallienus from Gori (Mus. Fior. tom. v. tab. 85) which he reads ΑΟΠΛΛΩΝΗΙΩΝ · ΛΥCΡΚΣ. This, Olstenius (in Notis ad Steph. p. 41) attributes to Apollonia of Mysia. Olstenius imagines the coin to be altered, and that it ought to read ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ · ΠΡΟC · ΡΥΝ; but Sestini is of opinion, that as ΛΥ, the initial letters of the inexplicable ΛΥCΡΚΣ are visible, that it belongs to Apollonia of Lycia; and is at great pains to prove that the difficult word should read ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. Sestini again refers to this coin (Lett. e Dissert. Num. tom. viii. p. 84) when he pronounces it a

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vile fabrication, "*un conio falso falsissimo.*" The first time I was induced to give the question any consideration was on the occasion of buying a medallion of Gallienus, which was brought me from Pisidia with other coins of the same province, and which is now in the British Museum, classed by me, at that period, to the Apollonia in Lycia. Here is the description.

No. 5.—AYT · Π · Λ · ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝ. Laureated head of Gallienus to the right.
R.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ · ΛΥ · ΘΡ · Κω. A figure standing in an Octostyle temple; a patera in his right hand, and the hasta in his left. Æ. 13.

Although unable to explain the letters ΛΥΘΡΚω, I could not but observe the identity of my coin with that of Gori, the legend of which must have been misread, or perhaps the coin itself badly preserved; still, there was sufficient to persuade me that my coin was neither false, nor the legend retouched or altered by a modern hand. Another specimen came under my notice, a short time after, at Trieste, in the collection of the Chevalier Fontana, when I took note of the following coin.[1]

No. 6.—AYT · K · Λ · CЄΠT · CЄOYΗPOC · ΠЄ. Laureated head of Sept. Severus to the left.
R.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ · ΛΥ · ΘΡΑ · ΚΟ. Hygea and Æsculapius, standing, each with their usual attributes; between them is a small figure of Telesphorus, standing, front face, enveloped in his hooded mantle. Æ. 9.

M. Fontana informed me that Sestini had positively declared this coin false, and had refused to insert it in his catalogue—an opinion the more singular, as it bore the most indubitable appearance of genuineness.

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[1] The coin of Gallienus, in Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 432, No. 11, must change place: it belongs to Pisidia.

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If there is any merit in having found the means of proving that the two coins, Nos. 5 and 6, positively belong to the Apolloniatæ of Pisidia, that merit must be divided with my esteemed friend, the Rev. Mr. Arundel, chaplain at Smyrna. That gentleman, on his return from his last journey in Asia Minor, communicated to me two inscriptions which he had copied over the gate of the castle of Apollonia in Pisidia, which read as follows:—

No. 1.

Η · ΒΟΥΛΗ · ΚΑΙ · Ο · ΔΗΜΟC
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ · ΛΥΚ
ΙΩΝ · ΘΡΑΚΩΝ · ΚΟΛΩΝ
ΩΝ.

No. 2.

ΤΟΝΑΓΝΟΝ
ΚΑΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ
ΤΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΟΝΗΒΟΥΛ[Η]
ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΑ[ΠΟΛ]
ΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝΛΥ[ΚΙ]
ΩΝΘΡΑΚΩΝΚ[Ο]
ΛΩΝΩΝΤΟΝΝ[Ε]
ΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤ[ΗΝ]
ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑ[ΝΑΝ]
ΔΡΙΑΝΤΙ.

Here, then, is the key for explaining the legend that so much perplexed Sestini. The inscription, No. 1, is perfect, and by it we are enabled to fill up the deficiences in some of the lines of No. 2. They inform us that the Apolloniatae were a colony originally from Thrace, and lastly from Lycia, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ · ΛΥΚΙΩΝ · ΘΡΑΚΩΝ · ΚΟΛΩΝΩΝ. Sestini's misread coin, that in the British Museum, as well as the presumed forgery of M. Fontana's, were all struck by the Apolloniatæ of Pisidia, colonists from Lycia and Thrace, as their legends indicate, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ · ΛΥ ΘΡΑ · ΚΟ, abbreviations for ΛΥΚΙΩΝ · ΘΡΑΚΩΝ · ΚΟΛΩΝΩΝ, *the Apolloniatæ, Colonists from Lycia and Thrace;* leaving no doubt as to their correct appropriation. Whether medallists coincide with Visconti, in assigning to this same city

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the coins described above, from No. 1 to No. 4, or not, we now possess, thanks to the interesting inscriptions communicated by Mr. Arundel, another city to be added to the list of those whose coins can be classed with precision.

H. P. BORRELL.

Smyrna, 19th Nov. 1839.

To J. W. BURGON, Esq., London.
For the Ed. of the Num. Chron.

XXVIII.

ON THE TYPES OF THE IRISH COINS OF KING JOHN.

I AM not aware that any explanation has ever been offered for the very singular devices which occur on the money of John, struck in Ireland, both before and after he ascended the throne of England. Those curious pieces, on which his title is *Dominus*, are supposed to have been minted during the reign of his father; and we may remark, that as Henry II., on his accession, had established the privilege of coining, which several of the barons enjoyed, it was hardly to be expected that he would, though so indulgent a father, allow his son to place his own portrait on his money. Neither on these coins, nor on those smaller pieces (Ed. plate, figs. 10 to 14), which were in cotemporary circulation with them, do we meet with the usual type of a royal bust, with crown and sceptre. Instead thereof, we have a face resembling the full moon; and this device seems to have some connection with the crescent moon and blazing star, on the pennies, halfpennies, and farthings of John's later coinage, when king of England.

In illustration of the last of these types, so different from

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every thing on the money of John's predecessors and successors on the English throne, Sir Henry Ellis quotes an entry from the rolls of parliament[1], wherein it is stated, that the crescent and star were used as the livery of the king's household.

In the 20th plate of a work, entitled "Monnaies des Evêques des Innocens, &c.,"[2] two curious medals are engraved (44 A and 44 B), of nearly cotemporary execution with the coins in Simon's second plate, figs. 38 to 42; and on comparison of these with the latter of the medals especially, the exact correspondence of the types appears very striking. The explanatory note (page 89), contains some pertinent remarks, shewing that the moon, as well as the morning star, were emblems of St. John the Baptist: since, as the moon, in the absence of the sun, reflects his light, and testifies of his existence, so it was said of St. John, "that he was sent to bear witness of the light." So, also, the Baptist was represented as the morning star, the forerunner of the "Sun of Righteousness;" being designated by Christ himself as "a burning and a shining light."

Hence, it appears, that the various devices which occur on the money of King John, were typical of the office of St. John the Baptist. Whether the King was born on the festival of St. John, and in consequence received his name, and regarded him as his patron saint, we know not now; and on that point the chronicles of that age are silent. A few passages, however, in the histories of Matthew Paris, and others, seem to shew, that King John entertained a peculiar veneration for the saint, his namesake. In the year 1200, the kings of England and France having entered

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[1] Numismatic Journal, Vol. II. p. 254.

[2] A notice of this curious work appears in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 252.

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into a treaty, Matthew Paris says, "Denique inter Reges, ut præmissum est, fœdere confirmato, terminum ad sequens festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ statuerunt, ut tunc ea quæ prælocuta sunt, irrefragabiliter sortiuntur effectum."[3]

Towards the close of the same year, John held a conference at Lincoln, with William, King of Scotland, when it is related, "Rex Johannes, contra consilium multorum intravit civitatem intrepidus quod nullus antecessorum suorum attentare ausus fuerat, perveniensque ad ecclesiam Cathedralem obtulit calicem aureum super altare Sancti Johannis Baptistæ."[4]

To these instances, I could add others from various sources, of important expeditions undertaken by this king on the same festal day.

These several passages, and the devices on the coins, seem to me to be mutually illustrative of each other.

Many conjectures have been offered in explanation of the triangle which occurs first on the Irish money of King John; but not one that is entirely satisfactory. That it should ever have been supposed to be the origin of the arms of Ireland is surprising, when we consider the circumstances under which the harp was first adopted as the national emblem of the sister isle.

In the year 1023, the *harp* and crown of Brian Boroimhe, King of Ireland, who was slain at the battle of Clontarf, in 1014, were carried to Rome by his son, and lodged in the Papal treasury. It was on the possession of these regalia, that Pope Adrian, in the reign of Henry II., founded his claim to the sovereignty of Ireland. When Henry VIII. had distinguished himself by his tract against the doctrines of Luther, Leo, then pope, dignified him with the title of

[3] Matt. Paris, p. 267. Edit. 1571. [4] Ibid. p. 273.

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Defender of the Faith, and at the same time presented him with the *harp* of King Brian. In this reign, the harp first appears as the emblem of the sovereignty of Ireland; and in, or probably before, the year 1530, we meet with it, for the first time, upon the reverses of the Irish money of Henry VIII., crowned along with the title *Dominus*, and some years afterwards, *Rex Hibernie.* [5]

L. Y. H.

Leeds, 5th Dec. 1839.

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[5] In the wardrobe account of Edward II., a translation of which is printed in the 26th volume of the Archæologia, the following entries occur:—

"To Friar Walter de Assherugge, head chaplain of the King's chapel, for the King's daily oblations, being the value of the *magnus denarius oblatorius*, worth by weight seven pence, and offered by the King each day at his mass, and afterwards redeemed by the wardrobe each day for sevenpence" (£10 13s.) In like manner, the Queen's head chaplain had the redemption of the Queen's oblatory coin of sevenpence, except on the festival of the Assumption, when the Queen offered gold.

These passages seem to allude to a coin, the use of which has never been satisfactorily ascertained (Ruding, Pl. II. Fig. 23). Pieces are known of this type, weighing from 80 to 140 grains; and one of this latter weight seems to correspond with the magnus denarius of the King and Queen's oblations.

[The author of "Illustrations of the Anglo-French Coinage" gives a different and more fanciful explanation of the crescent and star. "The star," he says, "was the cognisance of the duchy of Gascony, merged in the title of King of England in the reign of Edward the First; and the crescent was the device of Bordeaux, the metropolis of the duchy, the *portus lunæ* of the ancient geographers." It may be as well to remind the reader that the crescent and star appear on some of the coins of Henry the Third; but this does not militate against the argument of our correspondent. With regard to the *triangle* on Irish coins, we have always regarded it as a *symbol of the Trinity;* and we confess that we have never met with any argument to shake this opinion. The artists of a later period, as is well known, were accustomed to represent the head of the Deity within a triangle. —Ed.]

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XXIX.

UNPUBLISHED BRITISH COINS. No. V.

We have recently been favoured by the inspection of several British coins, which offer some peculiarities hitherto unnoticed. They have been very carefully engraved in the accompanying plate, which will render a more minute description than that which follows unnecessary.

No. 1.—A very remarkable coin, found near Durham, formerly in the possession of Mr. Surtees, of that city. The obverse bears a head, with snake-like locks, with two symbols in front, resembling an abbot's crosier or the Roman *lituus*. Æ. This coin is also remarkable on account of its being very thin, and perfectly flat on each side. Weight, 27½ grains. (*Cabinet of Mr. Huxtable*).

No. 2.—The obverse of this coin bears a horse caracoling to the left, with a heart-shaped ornament above, which is surrounded by a beaded line. In the exergue are traces of letters. The reverse bears what appear to be two clubs, between which is a wheel, and near the margin are two stars and the remains of a third. This type is very singular, and appears to be altogether novel. Place of discovery not known. EL. 84 grains. (*Mr. Huxtable*).

No. 3.—*Obv.* Rude head, to the right.

R. A horse to the left, with the wheel and other symbols in the field. The types of this and the following coin are peculiar. Place of discovery not known. Æ. 17 grains. (*Mr. Huxtable*).

No. 4.—Another coin of similar style and character, but the head of better execution. Place of discovery not known. Æ. 17 grains. (*Mr. Huxtable*).

No. 5.—The type of this rude coin resembles that of Ruding, Pl. I. No. 7, but more particularly that described and engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I. No. 10. It was found near the Whitman Hills, Dorchester, Oxfordshire, in the year 1837. Æ. 118 grains. (*Mr. Huxtable*).

No. 6.—A coin in very excellent preservation, but uninscribed, of

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which a cast has been kindly forwarded by a correspondent (H. G. B.) in the Island of Jersey, where it was found by a labourer last year. Three pellets conjoined appear on the cheek of the portrait on the obverse, and the animal on the reverse has a kind of griffin's head, while above appears part of the charioteer, and below an attempt, probably, to represent a prostrate human figure. *Æ*. 112 grains.

On our first inspection of the cast we were disposed to consider it a Gaulish coin; but further examination and comparison incline us to believe that it is a coin peculiar to the Channel Islands.

No. 7.—*Obv.* A horseman galloping to the right; below, the letters CVN.

R.—Victory walking to the right, holding a garland. Found at Berkhampsted, Herts. Æ. Weight 49 grains. Communicated by Dr. Lee.

This coin, which differs from all the numerous types of Cunobeline, is formed on the Greek model, and is convex and concave.

J. Y. A.

XXX.

ON TWO UNPUBLISHED COINS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF BOULOGNE-SUR-MER.

(*From the Revue Numismatique.*)

M. Dufaitelle, in reply to a general request made to the numismatic public, at the termination of my paper on the coins of Boulogne-sur-Mer (Revue, 1838, p. 34), has published, in the Puits Artésien (a journal of the Pas-de-Calais), a notice entitled, "*Observations on the Coins of Boulogne with the name of Eustacius.*" The author objects to some of my conclusions, and furnishes other ideas on the subject which had not before occurred to me. I would have delayed noticing this publication until such time as I could have obtained evident proofs, but the desire of making

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known to numismatists two unpublished coins connected with the history of Boulogne, has urged me to come forward sooner than I had intended.

One of the coins I am about to describe, is a fine piece of Stephen, King of England, who died in 1154, which is in the possession of Mr. Ducas, of Lille; the other is a small coin called *maille*, belonging to the class of that period, so frequently found in Flanders.

On the obverse are two figures standing and separated by a sceptre; on the reverse, a cross surrounded by a legend, of which can be read,..... COMES.[1] Nothing goes directly to prove that this coin belongs to the counts of Boulogne, we can only assign it to them by analogy.

First, on comparing this *maille* with the coin of Stephen, just mentioned, it is clear that the type of the obverse of both specimens is alike. The reverse, it is true, is quite different. But in comparing it with other small *mailles*, extremely common in the north of France, which M. Cartier has mentioned in the first number of the Revue of this present year, and which, in another paper, I shall prove to belong to Ponthieu, we observe a surprising resemblance in the cross on the field of each—a fact not to be wondered at, if that under consideration had been struck by one of the counts of Boulogne, who were always connected with those of Ponthieu. There is no room to confound this cross with that on the *mailles* of Flanders; for on the latter it usually cuts through the legend, which is not the case with this.

The above reasons justisfy us in giving this coin to Boulogne; and this is corroborated by the learned author of the Numismatique du Moyen-âge. On the other hand,

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[1] This *maille* belongs to M. Rollin, jun.

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the discussion necessary to decide to what prince this money belongs will afford a greater evidence of this view.

The type of this *maille* is clearly Byzantine, and could not have been brought to Europe but by the Crusaders. Among the princes who went to the first crusade are found Robert, count of Flanders, and Eustacius III., count of Boulogne. The first of these two princes, after what I have stated above, can have no claim to this coin. There will remain, then, Eustacius III. This prince succeeded his father in 1093, departed for the Holy Land in 1096, and in the autumn of 1100 married Mary, daughter of Malcolm III. of Scotland, and sister of Matilda, wife of Henry of England. After the death of Baldwin, his brother, in 1118, he was a candidate for the crown of Jerusalem; but the barons in the east, impatient at his non-appearance, elected Baldwin of Bourg. Eustacius, then in Calabria, returned homewards, and retired a short time after to the priory of Rumilly, where he died.

My explanations do not conclusively prove this coin to be of Boulogne. Some numismatists, more skilful, will be able to decypher, perhaps, from the beginning of the legend, the word *Bolonicæ*, and thus decide at once. However, it is to be hoped that a better specimen may be procured, which will determine this *maille;* but it may as likely prove against as for its appropriation to Boulogne. On my part, as the case stands, I can say no more on the subject than what I have already stated; and I leave to greater adepts the ultimate settlement of the question, hoping that their decision and new discoveries will not deprive the medallic history of Boulogne of a coin that dates its origin at the beginning of the twelfth century.

As to the coin of Stephen, already referred to, it certainly does not directly belong to Boulogne; it has, like

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many similar, been struck in England. M. Lelewel reads on this coin STNEHIUΘ, a legend, according to him, analogous to STEFNVS or STNEFAVS, which we find on other coins of Stephen. One of the two persons separated by a sceptre is clearly a woman; and M. Lelewel thinks it to be Maud or Matilda, the wife of Stephen, and the other would then be Stephen himself. This coin belongs to the same class as other coins of this prince, without legend on the reverse; those of Robert, Duke of Gloucester; those of Eustace, the son of Stephen; and which certainly do not seem coined for common circulation, but are rather temporary coins, struck in particular emergencies.[2] I shall now attempt to fix their date, and, at the same time, shall avail myself of the opportunity to correct some errors in my former paper. But to be enabled more easily to follow the course of my reasoning, let us take a brief review of the history of Stephen.

Stephen, of Blois, became count of Boulogne solely by the protection of Henry I. of England, who had caused him to marry Matilda, daughter of Eustacius III. Nevertheless, without regard for the kindness of Henry, and although he had sworn allegiance to the Empress Maud, his daughter, he landed in England in 1135, and seized on the crown, to the prejudice of that princess. As a first step, she applied to David, King of Scotland, who, after having entered into a treaty with Stephen, abandoned her. However, in

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[2] Such is the opinion of M. Lelewel.

M. Dufaitelle, in his "Observations on the Coins of Boulogne with the name of Eustacius," seems inclined to think that the coins bearing a shapeless animal (perhaps a lion or leopard rampant) might belong to somebody else than Eustacius IV. The above opinion, which I stated in the Revue Numismatique, 1838, is supported by the most eminent writers.

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1138, David again espoused the cause of his niece, but suffered a defeat at the battle of the Standard. At last, the day arrives when Maud is on the point of recovering her kingdom. Stephen quarrels with the clergy, and his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, at the head of the insurgents, takes the field against him. The Earl of Gloucester, natural brother of the Empress, raised an army, and in 1141 defeated Stephen at the battle of Lincoln, and made him prisoner. Almost all the chief towns, London excepted, declared for Maud; but she lost her advantages by her wanton pride. The Bishop of Winchester forsook her, and went over to the side of his brother. Queen Matilda, the wife of Stephen, and her son Eustace, put themselves at the head of an army; the Earl of Gloucester was taken and exchanged for Stephen, who, in 1142, besieged Oxford, where he found his rival, and forced her to fly. The death of the Earl of Gloucester gave, in 1147, a permanent advantage to the party of the King; and Maud then fled to Normandy, with her son. Stephen then thought himself firmly seated on the throne; nevertheless he failed in having his son Eustace crowned in 1151; and was eventually obliged to acknowledge the legitimate successor, Henry, son of the Empress Maud. Stephen died in 1154.

Now, let us return to our coins. But, first, it is to be observed, that many of the coins of Stephen bear on the legend of the reverse the place of mintage, and that there are only a few specimens at all resembling the one under consideration. What could warrant a departure from this established custom? This, indeed, is most probable, that it was not done under ordinary circumstances, otherwise it is not easy to understand what motive Stephen could have had in altering the common coin. To this probability we

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may add those supplied by the coins of Robert of Gloucester and of Eustace, evidently struck in the same emergencies. All this leads me to think, that such coins as are without legends on the reverse have been struck during the wars between Stephen and Maud, evidently from pressing necessity to pay their forces. Then, in this order I would propose to arrange these coins: First, those having the head of Stephen, struck before his captivity; then, those of Eustace, with the type of an animal rampant; or even before these, the money actually representing Stephen and Matilda, struck by the latter in imitation of the coins of her father; afterwards, at the reconciliation between the King and the Bishop of Winchester, the piece analogous to the former, representing these two princes with a sceptre between them;[3] and lastly, those of the Earl of Gloucester struck contemporary with those of the other party. We could, perhaps, also insert in this list such as bear round the head HEN—VS · EPC, and on the reverse STEPHANVS;[4] but I am rather disposed to think these were struck afterwards, and by permission of Stephen. I account for this, that during the imprisonment of Stephen, the army, having no general chief, each petty chief struck a coin for circulation among his men; while, that, in the opposite party, the Earl of Gloucester, being the sole head, as brother of the Empress, would strike no money but such as bore his own name. As for those without the place of mintage, I am at a loss how to explain them; perhaps it was not unlikely that each baron carried a moneyer in his suite. All these, however, are only hypotheses which I submit to the judgment of the readers of the Revue; they may be, perhaps, a

[3] Snelling.

[4] Ibid.

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little too speculative, but my end will be gained if they should draw to these particular coins the attention they deserve.

L. DESCHAMPS.

XXXI.

PETITION OF THE ROETTIERS, WITH THEIR ACCOUNT FOR MAKING THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND, TEMP. CHARLES II.

FROM the following interesting document, in the possession of the Editor, it will be seen, that though honour and credit were attached to the office of chief engraver of the mint, in the time of the "most religious and gracious King," it could only be held by persons possessing some property of their own, unless they were fortunate enough to have much private work. This may probably account for the retirement of Simon, who, if similarly treated, must have suffered severely from this system of long credit—a disgrace even to the reign of Charles the Second. Among the items which appear in the account, is one for breaking up the old great seal. The petition is evidently a rough draft, and is without signature.

"To the R^t^ Honb^le^ the Lords Com^rs^ of his Ma^ts^ Treasury."
The humble Petition of Jo. Roteeires his Ma^ts^ Engraver at the Tower,

Sheweth

That by warr^t^ dated the 6^th^ March 166$/7 in y^e^ 19^th^ yeare of his late Ma^ts^ Raigne under the hands of the honb^le^ y^e^ Ld. Arlington, your said petion^r^ was ordered to grave and make a Great Seale for his late Mat^y^ w^ch^ was accordingly done and finished and delivered to ——— ———as appears——— ———the charge whereof amounted to 246 : 3 : 2 of w^ch^ your s^d^ petition^r^

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rec[t] in part towards provideing of silver for the said greate seale y[e] some of 48 : 5 : 0 being p[t] of 50[l] w[ch] was ordered him for provideing silver for the same, soe that there still remaines unpaid 197:18:2.

Yo[r] petition[r] most humbly prays your Lords[ps] to order him the paym[t] of the said money, being in great want for the same for provideing for his family, and the constant charge and daily expense of his Mat[s] mint

And yo[r] petition[r] as in duty bound

The Account, which is on a separate sheet of foolscap, is as follows: —

"The Accompt of John Joseph and Philip Roettiers chief Gravours of his Mat[s] Mint, for their labour wast, and charges in making the last New Great Seale for his Majestie the 25[th] of Januarie 1677.

	oz. d[r]. s. d.	li. s. d.
1. For 127 7 of Silver at v. iii. the ounce his Mat[s] Great Seale		33 : 7 : 00
2. For making of the Molds and casting of the Great Seale at several times		6 : 00 : 00
3. For wast of silver in several times melting and casting; and in working boreing and fyleing		3 : 17 : 2
4. For Charges in Drawing the pinnes, in boreing the holes, and for fyleing and justning the weight of the Great Seale		2 : 05 : 00
5. ffor two boxes for y[e] Impression of the Gr. Seale		00 : 06 : 00
6. ffor two other boxes for the same use		00 : 03 : 00
7. ffor Breaking the old Great Seale		00 : 05 : 00
8. For their Labour and paines in the making, graving, Blanching and finishing the New Great Seale		200 : 00 : 00
	Totall	246 : 03 : 2
"Received in part, and upon accompt towards providing of Silver fory[e] New Great Seale		48 : 5 : 00
	"Remayning due	197 : 18 : 2

	li. s. d.
"The order was for	50 : 00 : 00
ffees paid for y[e] same	1 : 15 : 00
Received cleere	48 : 5 : 00"

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MISCELLANEA.

FORGED COINS.—Sir, In the last number of your interesting Chronicle, I was happy to perceive an article relative to spurious coins, now, unfortunately, become extremely numerous, and by which many collectors have suffered considerably; and as I think that the public cannot be too much on their guard against such impositions, I wish, through the medium of your widely-circulating Chronicle, to apprise our numismatists that depredations of this description have lately extended to this part of the United Kingdom. An individual of, I understand, very imposing appearance, but who, I am told, professes not to understand any thing about coins, has lately, in Dublin and Limerick, and perhaps other towns, succeeded in inducing some of our collectors to *enrich* their cabinets with a very great number indeed, of coins, Greek, Roman, British, Anglo-Saxon, &c. &c., of the rarest types, and several of them of very tolerable workmanship, but for the most part casts. Of these, a great number, from 200 to 300, were lately submitted to my inspection, and that of a brother collector, by gentlemen who were unfortunately the purchasers; and although, when seen together, they could hardly have imposed on any one, included a good many coins which it would require some experience to detect. Amongst them I recognised two or three tetradrachms of Heliocles, King of Bactria; tetradrachms of Philip II., and Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon; the Puellæ Faustinianæ, and other rare Roman coins, in silver, some exceedingly well executed as to types, but the letters of a very modern appearance; a penny of Beornulf, and a penny of Offa, with Runic characters, casts; rare coins of Charles I.; Anglo-Gallic coins of Henry II., Richard I., &c.; some Scotch and English gold, together with some Anglo-Saxon and other coins, of types not *hitherto discovered*, such as a *penny* of Eanbald, Abp. of York, and a penny of Redwald, King of the East Angles! Indeed, the only genuine coins I perceived amongst them were three pennies of Henry III., and two or three others equally common. The same individual was also, I understand in Cork; but the collectors there having got a hint that such a dealer was abroad, did not even look at his collection. The sums paid for these coins were certainly not very great, three or four shillings each for coins which, if genuine, would be worth as many pounds.

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But the mischief resulting from these impositions is far greater, when we consider the injury done to a very interesting and important science. We have all of us in our time been sufficiently inexperienced to be imposed on by such deceptions, even the best judges being sometimes deceived; and we are conscious that nothing would so much tend to lessen the ardour which a young collector feels in pursuit of his favourite study, as the confusion and uncertainty which such practices would introduce.

Hoping that these observations, as well as the article in your last Chronicle, may prevent any further traffic of this kind, or, if persevered in, may lead to the detection and punishment of those concerned in it,

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

J. L.

Cork, Oct. 14th, 1839.

CAUTION TO COIN COLLECTORS.—"We think it friendly to warn collectors of coins that a person is now travelling through Ireland, and selling forgeries of ancient and modern coins. He has been in Dublin, Kilkenny, and Limerick, and imposed his fabrications on various unsuspecting persons, usually calling in the dusk of the evening, when detection is not so easy. We have seen one lot of about 200 pieces in gold, silver, and copper, which he imposed on a respectable gentleman, as Greek, Roman, British, French, Anglo-Gallic, English, and Scotch coins, *all false;* chiefly casts, as may be perceived by their want of sharpness of outline, when compared with similar coins, struck in a die, and from a roughness of surface, occasioned by the air-bubbles that occur in casting metal; and when the coin is large, the edge of the piece will be found thinner than the centre. We hope that our brother journalists will copy this notice, to guard the public against the rascality that threatens their purses."—*Cork Constitution.*—[We insert this notice from an Irish paper, as we understand that this nefarious character is visiting this part of the kingdom with his spurious commodities.—*The Editor of the Hampshire Independent.*]—It is surprising, after the repeated warnings given to coin collectors, that this fellow should be permitted to swindle so openly, and with impunity. There surely must be a power in the law that condemns so many famishing wretches to transportation for forging a shilling or a sixpence, to deal out something like justice to this rogue who forges and cheats by wholesale. It is reported he passes by several names. In one instance, an individual on whom he had imposed to a considerable extent, and who had, almost immediately on concluding the bargain, detected the imposture, met the man in the street, and insisted on having his money

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returned, or he would give him in charge to the police. Of course, the whole amount was instantly surrendered, and the fellow escaped; but it would have been right in our friend, had he taken the cheat before a magistrate as a rogue and swindler, and as such, we hope, he may yet be treated. There is every reason to believe he is connected with a gang in France, who are making bold attempts to inundate Europe with forged coins, which are the more to be guarded against and exposed, as many of the specimens I have seen are done in a superior manner to the generality of forgeries.

Since writing these remarks, I have received a communication on the subject from a correspondent at Winchester, from which I am enabled to give a description of the person of the itinerant coin-monger, and his mode of transacting business.

It appears he is a Scotchman, of short stature, thin, genteelly dressed, and apparently about sixty years of age. He called on two coin collectors at Winchester; but, it seems, without effecting a sale. He then tried a dealer in the same town, who, having been put on his guard by a gentleman at Cork, who had been extensively duped, did not fall into the snare, though he was strongly pressed to take a packet or two of gold and silver Roman and Greek coins, for £50, which he represented as really worth an immense sum. He offered also a groat and half-groat of Richard III., which he valued at six guineas each, but eventually sold them to the individual above alluded to (together with some Saxon pennies) for a few shillings! Each coin was carefully enclosed in paper, with a description, and value, as estimated by Pinkerton. He accounted for his possession of them, by being connected by marriage with a very eminent collector at Glasgow, recently deceased; and as his relatives could not agree in the distribution, he was entrusted with their sale. A dirty book, well thumbed over, was his companion, to which he constantly referred, being, as he said, profoundly ignorant of coins himself. It is thought he is now on a journey to Bath and the west. S.

[We do not think this man is in any way connected with the forgers of ancient coins on the continent, who can scarcely have been more successful in the disposal of their spurious wares. It is difficult successfully to "expose" a fellow who has, doubtless, an *alias* for every town through which he passes; but there is another and a better remedy for the evil. We agree with a legal friend, that this wary scoundrel may be indicted for obtaining money under false pretences. With this hint, we hope some of his dupes may be induced to prosecute him. —Ed.]

Gold Coin of another Bactrian Prince.—Sir, Being in Paris last week, a gold piece was shewn me, bearing the name of a Bactrian king, none of whose coins have as yet been figured, or

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even mentioned by Mr. Prinsep or Professor Wilson. It was about the size of a Roman Aureus, and weighed 2 gros 18q: I believe equivalent to 138 grains troy. The description I give from recollection. The obverse presented the head of a young man, probably the likeness of the king, his hair bound with a fillet similar to that found on the coins of Menander and Eucratidas; the reverse, Jupiter advancing to the left, holding the thunderbolt in his right hand; on his left arm, the Ægis, with the head of Medusa. Below, in the field, a crown of victory; and still lower, a bird, more like a stork than any other, certainly not an eagle: on the sides, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ · ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ. It is of fine work, and in good preservation. I am not aware that any of the principal numismatists of Paris have as yet seen this coin, it having been a very recent importation. My persuasion is, that it should be assigned to the second king of Bactria, called Diodotus by Strabo, the immediate predecessor of Euthydemus. It was purchased for £120, and is destined to a place in the French cabinet.—Yours,

PARVULUS.

SALT MONEY OF ETHIOPIA.—Sir, In your last number there is a communication from Mr. A. Thomson d'Abbadie, on the coins current in Abyssinia, and also noticing the salt money of Ethiopia. That salt cut into certain forms, and of certain quantities, has been long used in Ethiopia as money, we may collect from Ray's Travels, vol. ii. p. 486, published in 1738; and as the notice there given of the subject may not be uninteresting to some of your readers, I beg to hand it you. It is useful to be brought again to the notice of your numismatic readers, as it will prove to them that the relations of former travellers, which may at first sight appear to be impostures, or relations of subjects in which they may have been imposed upon, are not always to be so treated, however strange they may appear to our minds at the present day. The salt money current in Ethiopia 150 years back, or perhaps for ages before then, is confirmed by the recent observations of a modern traveller to be still in use among them: we may consequently infer, that the customs of that people, in other matters, may have been subjected to as little change.

"In trading they make no use of coined money, as the Europeans do, but their money is fifteen or twenty pics of cloth, gold which they give by weight, and a kind of salt, which they reduce into little square pieces, like pieces of soap; and these pass for money. They cut out that salt upon the side of the Red Sea, five or six days' journey from Dangala, as you go from Cairo; and the places where they make it are called Asho."—I am, &c.

FRANCIS HOBLER.

October, 1839.

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Gold Triens with "Dorovernis."*—M. Cartier, in a recent number of the "Revue Numismatique," says, "I entirely concur in the opinion of Mr. Akerman, and I hold this triens (Tiers de Sol) to be French, notwithstanding the difficulty of assigning its local appropriation. It is the case with a great number of Merovingian pieces, very legible, but undecided. I find, in the Geographical Dictionary of Latin Names, by Chaudon, Doroernia, Troar Sur-la-Dice, in Normandy (that is, Troarn, three leagues from Caen). I know that the appellation of 'civitas' is an objection to this identity of name; but if in France the name of the town only puzzles us, in England the whole kingdom is an obstacle. The difficulty is certainly less on our side of the Channel. Let us, moreover, observe, that it would be proper still to search beyond the boundaries of France, as it is; towards Tournay, Utrecht, Treves, &c. The difficulty will remain to be overcome by us, with many others, in our Merovingian numismatics."

"However," continues M. Cartier, "M. de Longperier defends his appropriation, and justice obliges us to hear his reasons.

"The piece with Dorovernis," he writes to us, "weighs 25, and not 29 grains, although it resembles the Merovingian money. It is more Roman, more imperial, than our French triens. The name of the moneyer, Eusebius, is entirely Greek.

"Few of these names are found on the Frank money; on the contrary, Greek names are found in the English history. The first Archbishop of Canterbury, Augustin, Laurentius, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Theodorus of Tarsus, in Cilicia, have either Greek or Latin names. The word 'civitas,' at full length, is quite an English form. The form Dorovernis, instead of Dorovernum, or Dorovernius, is certainly not found in English documents; but the words Aurelianis, Meldis, Blesianis, Mettis, &c. are in like manner found only on the coins and not in documents (written). Mr. Akerman himself confesses, that if the Saxons did actually strike money, this is just the kind of piece we ought to look for. Now, all the difficulty is to know if the Saxons did or did not strike money; and this enquiry, handled with care by Ruding, has been left too uncertain not to admit a monument so explicit as that before us, as a strong proof in favour of the affirmative."

Casts of Coins.—We have been favoured with a copy of the following letter, which details a very novel method of taking casts of ancient and modern coins: we fear, however, that it will open a new field to the forger:—"My dear Sir,—During our conversa-

* Vide Numismatic Journal, Vol. II. p. 232.

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tion this morning on the subject of taking fac-simile impressions in copper of medallions, coins, &c., you will remember that the idea occurred to me of giving them surfaces of silver or gold, by a similar process, viz. by employing a solution of either of those metals in connexion with the prepared *matrix*, instead of a solution of copper. Turning the subject over in my mind whilst walking home, a thought struck me that a complete medallion, of any kind of metal, might easily be made by the voltaic process, or the medallion might be constructed of different metals, and in a variety of ways, which it would be difficult to imitate by any other process. The following are some of the methods.

Let a matrix of each side of the medallion intended to be copied be made in the usual way, by means of the alloy commonly called *Newton's fusible metal*. The metal may be about one-eighth of an inch thick. To the back of this metal solder one end of a copper wire, and to the other end a piece of zinc, which is afterwards to be amalgamated. The metal in which the matrix is formed is now to be covered with a coating of varnish or wax, leaving bare the matrix only. The wire is also to be covered with varnish, and is to be bent so as to adapt the voltaic metals to their respective places in the vessels holding the liquids employed. In a few hours the matrix will have received a coating of precipitated metal from the solution, which may be either gold or silver, according to the character of the solution. The thickness of the precipitated coating will depend upon the time. When the coating is supposed to be of a sufficient thickness, remove the solution of the silver, or the gold, as the case may be, and replace it by a solution of the sulphate of copper; and in the course of a few days you will have a considerable thickness of copper precipitated on the silver coating in the matrix. These two metals will adhere firmly together so as to be one piece. When this semi-medallion is removed from the matrix, it will have a copper body, with a silver face. Its reverse may be formed by proceeding in the same manner with the matrix made from the opposite face of the original medallion; and when the process is completed, the flat copper sides may be neatly soldered together, so as to form a complete medallion similar to the original.

By a similar process, a complete medallion may be formed, having a gold surface on one side, and a silver one on the other.

Another beautiful variation may be accomplished by the following process:—Imagine that we wanted a medallion whose prominent parts should be gold, and the rest silver—the head of Newton, for instance, with its motto to be of gold. Varnish with wax every other part of the matrix, and put it in galvanic action in a solution of gold. In a few hours the head and motto will be formed in gold. Now remove the gold solution, and clean the

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matrix of its wax varnish. This done, put the matrix in voltaic action in a solution of silver, and the face of the medallion will now be filled up with silver. If the body of the medallion is to be of silver, the action may be continued for three or four days; but if the body is to be copper, proceed, as before directed, with a solution of copper.

Similar processes give infinite scope to the ingenious in varying and ornamenting this class of voltaic productions.

I am, my dear sir, yours very truly,

W. STURGEON.

Westmoreland Cottage, Peckham, Dec. 2, 1839.

To the Rev. J. B. Reade, &c. &c. &c.

DISCOVERY OF COINS.—The workmen employed by Messrs. Tanner, brothers, in excavating the bed of the river, at their paper mills, Cheddar, Somerset, have lately discovered a considerable number of ancient coins, chiefly Roman, some of the Constantine family.

GOLD COIN OF ALLECTUS.—Another coin of this usurper, in gold, and of the "pax" type, has recently been discovered in London, and is now in the collection of the British Museum.

COINS OF SAINT OMER.—M. Alex. Hermand, of Saint Omer, a very zealous antiquary and numismatist, has recently put forth a work entitled, "Recherches sur les Monnaies, Medailles, et Jetons, dont la ville de Saint Omer à été l'objet," illustrated by nine plates of coins and medals struck in that town from the earliest period to our own times.

MINES IN RUSSIA.—The account of the precious metals obtained from the mines in Russia, in 1836, was, says the *Suabian Mercury*, as follows; viz. from the mines of the Ural, Altai, and Nertschinsk:—Gold, 346 poods, or 27,724½ marks; platina, 118 poods, or 9,440 marks; silver, 1,212 poods, or 96,968 marks. If we estimate platina to be equal in value to five times its weight of silver, and gold sixteen times the value of its weight in silver, the marks of silver being taken at 14 dollars Prussian currency, we shall have—

	Dollars.
Value of the gold . . .	6,210,288
„ „ platina . . .	660,800
„ „ silver . . .	1,357,552
Total . .	8,228,640

The gold and platina are chiefly obtained from mines belonging to Private persons, the silver from the crown mines.

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AMONG the illustrations of CROSBY HALL, for 1840, we are glad to see the announcement of a premium of ten guineas for the best design for a medal connected with the fine arts, and bearing reference more especially to architecture and sacred music.

CORRESPONDENCE.

We shall be happy to see the silver coin of Constantius, with P·LON in the exergue, referred to by Mr. Skaife.

Will Mr. Fairless have the goodness to inform us how a pacquet may be forwarded to him at Hexham. We find that we are unable to forward it ourselves, without the heavy expense of carriage.

We should have replied to the gentleman at La Rochelle who has been so good as to address to us a letter on the subject of some pennies of the Black Prince, but *have been unable to decipher his name!*

Mr. Francis has our thanks for his kind communication. Any of the promised memoranda, though not immediately available, may some day be found useful.

T. H. W.'s *coin* is a Nuremburg token.

G. D. A coin of Nero. The type is very common.

Mr. Smithers had better procure Cousinery's able Essay on the Coins of the Achaian League: it may be obtained in Paris for six francs.

Our readers will see by an advertisement, that the works of Mr. Millingen may be obtained in London: they are indispensable to the student of Greek coins.

Tyro had better apply to some dealer in coins of known probity.

We are of opinion with J. S., that it is lamentable to find a writer at the present day perpetuating the gross absurdities of the Pegge and Stukeley school of antiquaries. "There is," says an author of antiquity, "a secret propensity in the block-heads of one age to admire those of another." Of the truth of this axiom we have daily evidence.

B. Ruding, accurate and pains-taking, has given himself much trouble to shew the false reasoning of the Rev. Edward Davies on British coins; but we have recently been referred

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to a work, entitled, "Britannia after the Romans," containing quotations from that visionary theorist, coupled with an attempt to shew that these pieces are not coins, but *Gnostic* or *Mithraic tokens!* This surpasses the wild reveries of the author of the "Medallick History of Carausius," and the crazy speculations of Pegge!

We trust M. Bergmann has received our letter.

W. W. A coin of Gordianus Pius. The head on the reverse is that of Abgarus, King of Edessa.

R. There are no *brass* coins of Otho with *Latin* legends. The piece referred to is a very common modern forgery, imitated from the denarius of that emperor.

Δ. Pinkerton's "Essay on Medals" is a very amusing book, but his estimations of the rarity of coins, and of their probable value, are only calculated to mislead.

H. We have heard many complaints of the system to which our correspondent alludes, and are only waiting for a fitting opportunity to denounce it. We, however, take leave to remind H. that a *libel* is not necessarily a *falsehood*.

O. C., Manchester. Roman and Greek coins are not "medals." The term *medal* is altogether inappropriate, and is a piece of affectation which we hope to see banished entirely from our numismatic vocabulary. An eminent numismatist is of opinion that the term "medal" was first improperly applied by the early French writers to the large brass Roman coins, which, on account of their size and beauty, were considered as *medals* rather than money. The only pieces which can, with propriety, be termed medals, are those, the weight of which, as well as the size, are not multiples or divisions of the current coins; but these, by a similar fancy, have been termed medallions, after the Italian *medaglioni*.

J. J., Liverpool. No. He who collects coins solely on account of their rarity, without regard to their historical interest, will never make a numismatist. The mechanical knowledge of the dealer may be soon acquired, but the study of even one series is not so easily got through as our correspondent imagines.

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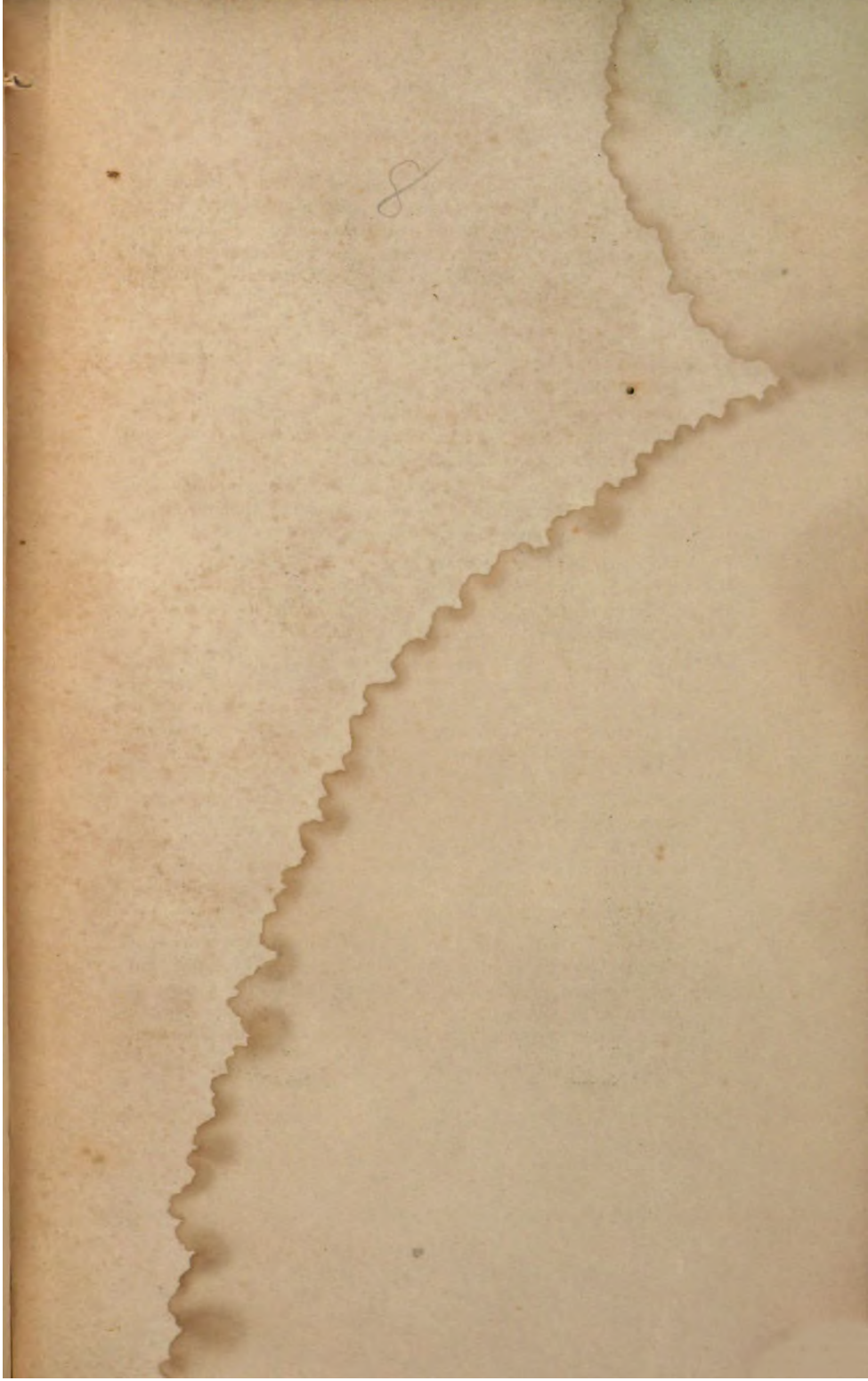

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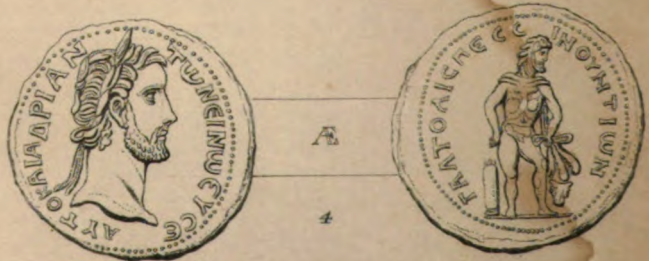

H.A.099

UNEDITED ASIATIC COINS.

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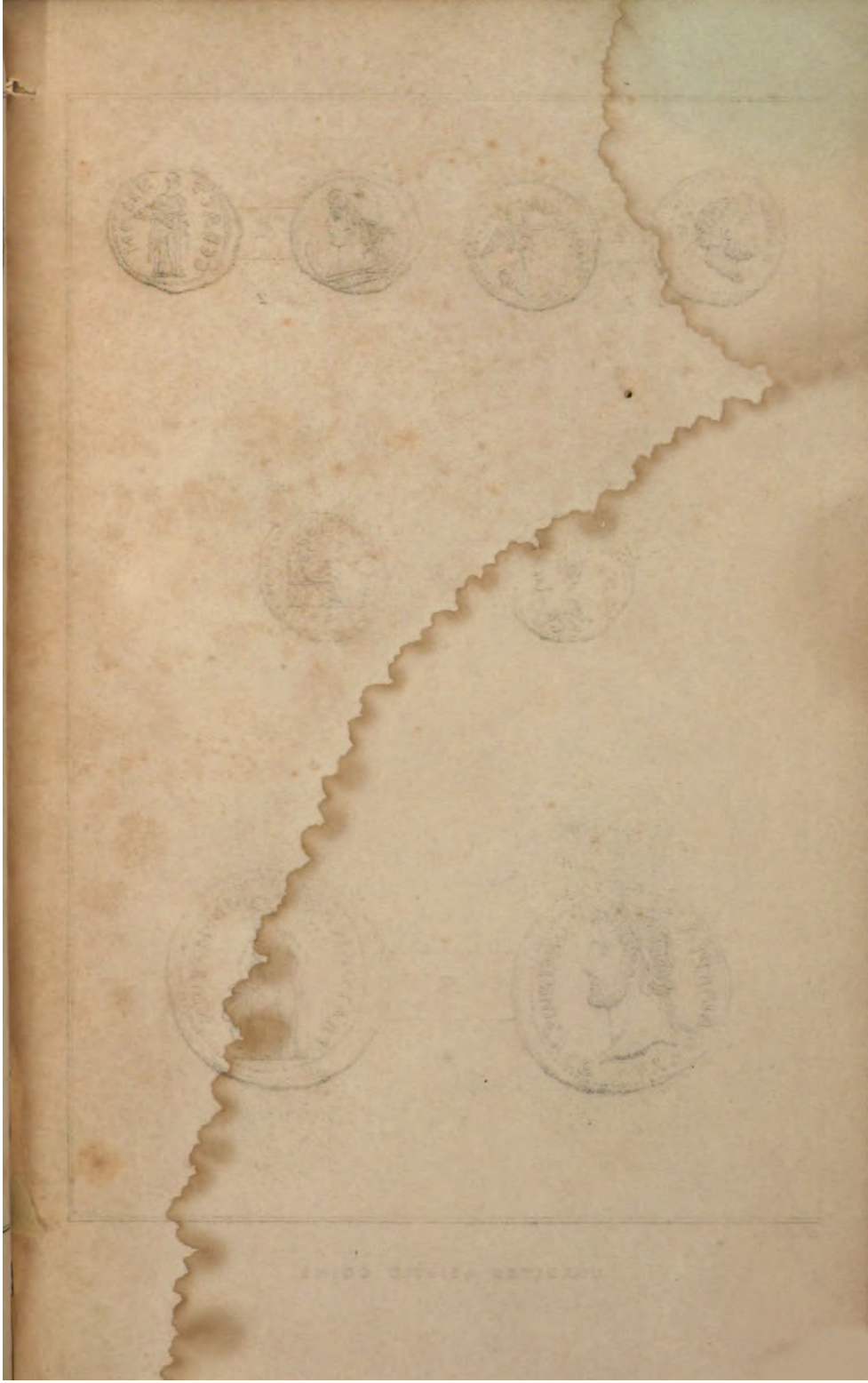

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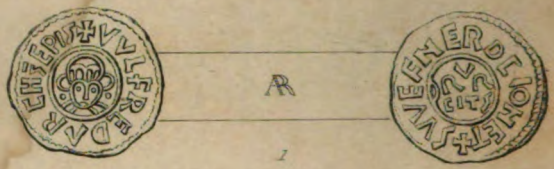

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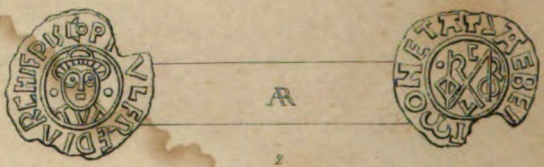

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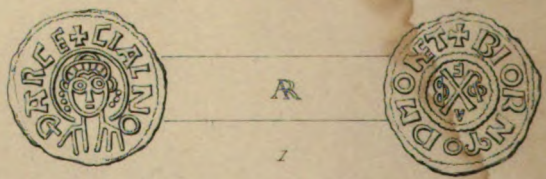

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PENNIES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

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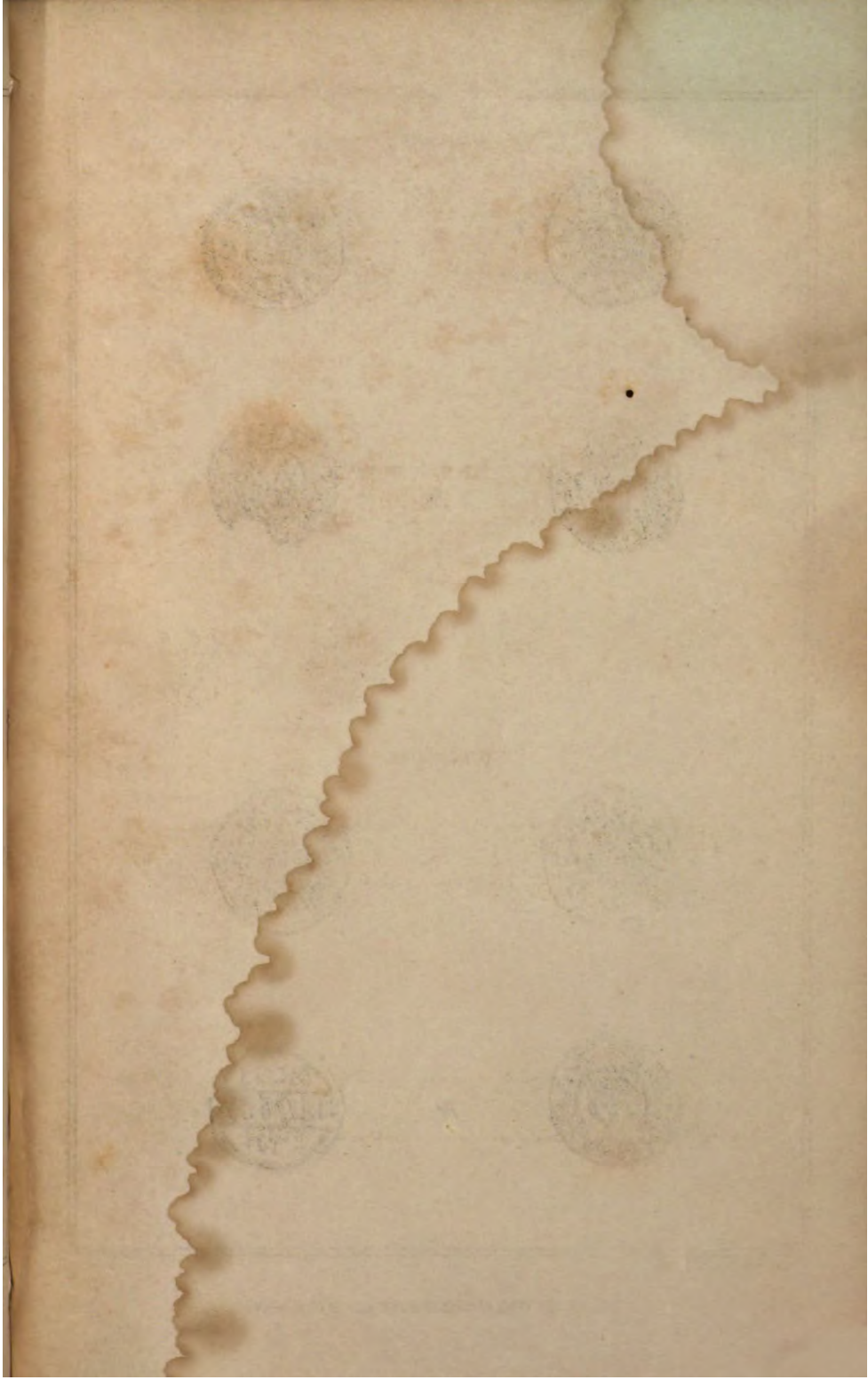

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ANCIENT BRITISH COINS

FOUND IN SUSSEX.

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XXXII.

ON THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE COINS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

About the year 779, Offa, King of Mercia, obtained a signal victory over the Kentish men at Otteford;[1] and, for nearly the quarter of a century after this date, we find that the sovereigns of Mercia exercised great authority in the kingdom of Kent. With a view to the aggrandizement of his own dominions, Offa contrived, in 785, that the primacy should be removed from Canterbury, and influenced Pope Adrian I., by large presents, to confer the pall on Eadulf, Bishop of Lichfield. Jaenbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, for a long time resisted earnestly this unjust usurpation of his rights, and, for that reason, was deprived of the greater part of his temporalities by Offa. It was not, however, until the reign of Coenwulf, and the commencement of the ninth century, that the pall was restored to Aethilheard, Jaenbert's successor.

Jaenbert, advanced to the primacy A. D. 763, and Aethilheard 790, are the first prelates of whom coins have descended to the present times; and these, though excessively rare, must be considered doubly valuable from the light which they throw upon the history of the age which produced them. A silver penny, figured in Ruding's 12th Plate, is the only relic we possess of the mint of Jaenbert, and this presents us with his name and title on the one

[1] See Holinshed, p. 646, vol. i. Edit. 1807.

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side, and those of Offa on the other, thus clearly indicating the power to which he was subject. The type of this curious piece differs so much from those coins of Offa, which appear to have been minted at the close of his reign, that there is no obstacle to the supposition that it was issued before the year in which Jaenbert was deprived of his metropolitan dignity.

We are acquainted with one other coin only, issued from the prelatical mint in the reign of Offa, and bearing, as on the last, the name and title of that prince. On the reverse we observe AEDILHEARD PONTI*fex*, (not *Archiepiscopus*), which is perfectly consistent with history, since this prelate did not acquire a right to the title of *Archbishop* until the reign of Coenwulf. Accordingly we have three other coins (Ruding, Pl. XII. XIII.), on all of which we observe the name and title of Coenwulf; and on their reverses Aethilheard is, for the first time, dignified with the title of Archbishop.[2] Before quitting this part of the subject, I will remark, that a coin of Eadbert of Kent (Ruding, Pl. III. Fig. 2) has been supposed to bear the name of Jaenbert. Aethilheard died in 803, and was succeeded by

Wulfred. After an interval of twenty years, we again meet with coins of the Primates of Canterbury. In 805, Baldred usurped the Kentish throne, and maintained his power for eighteen years. Towards the end of his reign, he became unpopular, and the disaffection of his subjects rendered him a feeble adversary to Egbert of Wessex, by whom he was overcome in 823, and with him perished the

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[2] Dr. Pegge, in his "Assemblage of Coins," &c., has noticed, although he does not explain, the occurrence of the title *Pontifex*, instead of *Archiepiscopus*, on this coin. With respect to the history of Offa's oppression of Jaenbert, and the restoration of the pall to the see of Canterbury, he is particularly inaccurate.

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independence of Kent. We will now enquire what reference the prelatical coins have to the history of this eventful period.

In Ruding's Pl. XIII., we have several coins marked "*uncertain.*" Two of these present, on the obverse, a head, similar to that on the coins of Baldred, or of Egbert, surrounded by the names of moneyers, with their designations of office:—SVVEFNERD, who worked for Baldred, and SIGESTEF, who was employed by Cuthred, Baldred's predecessor, both of which appear on the Kentish money of Egbert. On the reverse of each is DOROBERNIA CIVITAS, disposed in lines across the field of the coin; and this reverse occurs on another piece in the same plate, on the obverse of which we observe the portrait of an archbishop, instead of that of a king. On a penny of this latter type in the Pembroke Collection, the moneyer is SAEBERT, a name which is only found on the money of Archbishop Wulfred. On a fourth coin, with the head of a king on the obverse, and the moneyer's name repeated on each side, the name of the mint is expressed on the reverse in a manner precisely similar to that on a penny of Baldred, No. 1, Pl. III. The only probable hypothesis respecting the origin of these coins is this—that they were issued in Kent, after the expulsion of its last sovereign, some of them by Egbert, others by Wulfred; that the former, who seems to have proceeded cautiously in taking possession of the kingdom, omitted all mention of his name thereon, from a fear of irritating his new subjects; the latter did so from deference to the power of Egbert.

Whether, after this period, the Archbishops of Canterbury were appointed by the Kings of Wessex as regents of Kent, the ancient chronicles do not inform us; but it may be presumed from the fact, that a series of coins, issued

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under the authority of those archbishops, commences at the era of the overthrow of the Kentish monarchy, and is continued, with but few interruptions, contemporaneous with the regal suites of Wessex, Mercia, and East Anglia, till the time when, after the conquest of the Danes, all the provinces south of the Humber owned the supremacy of the immortal Alfred.

The following seems to me the most correct arrangement of the coins of Wulfred:—

No. 1.—A coin in the British Museum. *Obv.*—Portrait with the name and title of Walfred.
R.—SVVEFNERD MONETA. In the arrangement of its reverse, this coin exactly resembles No. 1 of Baldred (Ruding Pl. III.), and No. 3 of the uncertain pieces in Pl. XIII. The moneyer's name is new, as belonging to Walfred.
Ruding, Pl. XIII., No. 3. Portrait, differing from the last.
R.—DOROBERNIA CIVITAS, in three lines across the field, as on some of the uncertain coins before noticed. To these the next in succession may be
No. 2.—Which only differs from that figured in
Ruding, Pl. XIII., No. 1, in having the portrait of Walfred confined within the circle of the legend. Both have the same moneyer's name, and the mint expressed in a complicated monogram on the reverse.
Ditto Pl. XIII., No. 2, is the only one remaining. We remark that on this piece the name of the City of Canterbury is, for the first time, written *Dorovernia*.

On these pieces we have observed, that the Archbishop is always represented full-faced, and clothed in pontifical vestments. On No. 3 of Walfred, and No. 4 of the uncertain coins in Pl. XIII., the clerical tonsure is distinctly portrayed; and it is probable that the singular head-dress on all the other coins of Wulfred and Ceolnoth, is intended to represent the same. A similar representation occurs on some papal coins of this period; and from this source it is probable that the design of some of the prelatical coins of

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Canterbury, in the days of Wulfred, and his successor, were derived. *Feologild*, Wulfred's successor, enjoyed his dignity during the short space of four months, and was succeeded by *Ceolnoth*, A. D. 830. Of this prelate we have an extensive series of coins, presenting a great variety of types, many of which are distinguished by some peculiarity which is also found on the West Saxon currency. They may be arranged as follows:—

No. 3.—Has on the reverse a monogram similar to that on Ruding, Pl. XIII., No. 7, but bearing a closer resemblance than this last to that which we find on the coins of Walfred. It is, in fact, only a different form containing the same letters. These two I have little hesitation in placing at the head of the series.

Ditto Pl. C.,[3] No. 14. On the reverse of this, we have a monogram, the same as that which appears on several coins of Egbert. See Pl. XIV., figs. 2 and 3.

Ditto Pl. XIII., Nos. 5 and 6—Pl. C., No. 15. We have now to notice a class of coins which exhibit, on the reverse, the monogram of Christ— , on some specimens so differently represented that the original idea seems lost. Perhaps the most curious of these, is that figured No. 5 in Pl. XIII. On this piece we have the ecclesiastical costume of the period so minutely portrayed, as even to represent distinctly the crosslets on the Archbishop's pall. The monogram appears on a coin of Ethelwulf, A. D. 836 (see Pl. XXX., fig. 12). It will be remarked, that all the coins of this prelate above described, have the name *Cialnoth*; and it seems probable that these were issued during the first six years of his primacy.

From a consideration of the moneyers' names, and the execution of the coins, it is probable that a considerable interval must have elapsed before the pieces were minted which will next come under our notice; and that, during

[3] A supplemental plate to the 3rd edition.

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that interval, Ethelwulf, King of Wessex, issued from the mint of Canterbury, besides others, the coins engraved in Ruding, Pl. XIV., No. 4, XV., No. 5, and XXX., Nos. 19, 20, 21.[4] But to resume—

Ruding, Pl. XIII., No. 1.—The type of the reverse, and the style of the workmanship on the obverse of this coin, correspond exactly with those of Ethelwulf and Ethelbert—Pl. XIV., No. 2, and Pl. XV., Nos. 1 and 2. This is the first piece on which this prelate's name is *Ceolnoth*; and of this type were most of his coins found at Dorking.

Ditto Pl. XIII., No. 2.—With a fantastic device on the reverse; and Nos. 3 and 4, distinguished by having the word CIVITAS in the angles of a cross, must be nearly cotemporary with the last. The portrait of Ceolnoth, and the spelling of his name, are the same on all; and on the three last we have the name of his mint, *Dorovernia*, legibly expressed for the first time.

We have now two coins only to examine, the last which we possess of Ceolnoth. One is

No. 4.—On this we have, as usual, the full-faced portrait of the Archbishop, whilst, on the other—

Ruding, Pl. XIII., No. 8, we meet with the profile of a king, probably Ethelred. The reverses of these are similar to those of Ethelred, and of Burgred of Mercia. On all these later coins, the Archbishop's name is uniformly *Ceolnoth*.

An additional argument in favour of the arrangement I have adopted, is derived from an examination and com-

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[4] We are informed that Ethelwulf, contenting himself with the government of Wessex, committed to his brother Athelstan the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, &c. We find Ethelstan styled *King of Kent*; but whether he coined money in his own name, or whether the coins above-mentioned were issued by him in the name of his brother, it is foreign to our present purpose to inquire.

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parison of the moneyers' names on the several classes. A large number of the coins of Ceolnoth was found at Dorking, among which were specimens of the types figured in Ruding, Pl. XIII., Nos. 5, 6, 7, which I have supposed the earliest of his mintage, and of Nos. 1, 3, 4, which I have assigned to a later period. On the former, the moneyers' names are—BIORNMOD, SVVEBHEARD, & VVINHERE. Of these, the first worked for Egbert and Ethelwulf, and the second, may be the same as *Swefnerd*, a moneyer of Egbert. The names which occur on the other types are EÐELVALD, HEREBEARHT, and LIABINEG, which also occur on coins of Ethelbert, as does HEBEEA, who also worked for Ethelwulf; BIARNRED, BIARNVLF, and EIALMOD, moneyers of Alfred; and TOEGA, a name which appears again on No. 8, Pl. XIII.

Of *Ethered*, who, in 870, succeeded Ceolnoth, only one coin has reached our times; but this, in beauty of execution, is equalled by few, and surpassed by none of the age in which it appeared. Like the last coin of Ceolnoth, it bears on its obverse the effigy of a king, surrounded by the name and title of Ethered. Its reverse, and the name of the moneyer, correspond exactly with a fragment of a unique coin of Alfred in the British Museum.

The coins of the Primates of Canterbury, after this period, possess but little interest. Of Plegmund, A.D. 888, four coins are extant, all of which bear some resemblance to the money of Alfred. After these, we do not possess a single coin as evidence that the privilege of coining was enjoyed by, as it was undoubtedly granted to, the several prelates who, before the conquest, occupied the see of Canterbury.

L. Y. H.

Leeds, 1st February, 1840.

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XXXIII.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE EARLY LYDIAN MONEY, AND AN ATTEMPT TO FIX THE CLASSIFICATION OF CERTAIN COINS TO CROESUS.

No. 1.—Forepart of a lion facing that of a bull.
R. Two indented squares. AV. 3. Weight, grs. 125.

2.—Another bearing precisely the same devices on both sides. AR. 5. Weight, grs. 161.

3.—Three others similar—AR. 3. Weight, grs. 80, 81, and 83½.

4.—Another similar—. AR, ¾. Weight, grs. 11¾.

The Lydian kings are renowned in history for their wealth; and in all ages they have been accounted the first who struck gold and silver money in Asia. Unfortunately for the elucidation of this subject, the practice of inscribing coins with a legend, was not in use at that remote period; and it appears also, that the type with which their coins were impressed, did not, as on the Persian money, represent any particular symbols, by which they might be identified with certainty. That the Lydians did strike money, is amply testified by the most respectable authorities, among whom may be cited Herodotus, Xenophon of Colophonia, Eustathius, and Pollux;[1] no doubt therefore can exist of the fact: but it is, at the same time, exceedingly problematical whether the Lydian coins were really the first struck in Asia; for, judging from the monuments of

[1] Herodotus lib. 5. cap. 93—Xenophon-Coloph. in Jul. Pollux Onomast. lib. 9. cap. 6. Sigm. 83. p. 1063.—Heraclides de Politiis p. 521. Eustathius, Comment. ad Dioyns. Perieget. p. 149, col. 2.

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this class which have descended to us, the most ancient appear to be those supposed to have been struck by the Greek colonists of Ionia, Aeolia, and Mysia. It is, however, by no means impossible that Lydian coins may still come to light of their earlier kings — predecessors of Croesus. Under which of these states, or at what epoch of the Lydian monarchy, coinage commenced, is not easily to be determined. Spanheim has attributed a Stater in Electrum to Alyattes, father of Croesus; but he is evidently in error; and as Pollux mentions a description of coin, which he calls Staters of Croesus, it may be inferred that the coins he alludes to owed their origin to Croesus himself; as several instances may be cited of coins being called after the name of the sovereign in whose reign they were first struck.

In attributing the coins above described to Croesus, king of Lydia, I shall probably incur the charge of presumption from many numismatists: but should their sentiments on the subject not coincide with mine, they cannot accuse me of disturbing a certain classification; for these coins, like all others whose attribution is doubtful, have been repeatedly transferred from one place to another by every numismatic author who has had occasion to advert to them. Some writers have assigned them to Acanthus in Macedonia, on account of the type of the Lion and the Bull— symbols used on the money of that city; Pellerin, to Salamis, in Cyprus, from the affinity of the type to that of a coin of Samos, which he has erroneously classed to Salamis; and Sestini, who has published several of various magnitudes, attributes them to the Island of Samos, for the same reason as Pellerin. This being the last theory, it is of course followed at the present time by most medallists.

The celebrated and very enlightened antiquary, Barthe-

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lemy observes, that it is probable that the coins of Croesus would be of the description called *anepigraphe*, or without legend—that they would not bear the effigy of the prince, and would be executed in a style similar to the ancient Persian money.[2] His surmises are perfectly correct, if the classification I propose is admitted; and the affinity which Barthelemy supposes is not at all surprising, when it is considered that the Persians and Lydians were bordering nations, and that active communication between the people of the two countries must have existed from the earliest period. Herodotus mentions that the coins struck by Darius, and from him called Darics, were famous for the extraordinary purity of the gold used in their fabrication,[3]—to which those existing bear ample testimony. The Lydian coins, or those I presume to be of Lydia, of the same metal, appear to be equally free from alloy: the weight also coincides sufficiently,—the Darics weighing from 127 to 129½ grains; and the Lydian coins 124 to 126½; which proves that they were old didrachms of the Attic Standard, as corresponding nearly with the Athenian χρυσους. Josephus mentions that there were gold coins of Croesus, which weighed four drachms,—so that we have evidence that the Lydians had a larger money. Indeed one of these tetradrachms came under my notice in 1819 at Constantinople.

In opposition to the opinion I have advanced, that the coins in question are of Croesus, some of my friends have urged that the oldest Darics appear to be of higher antiquity: and this argument it would be difficult to repel, if Darius really was the first who issued the peculiar description of coin known by the name of Darics; but I do not

[2] Barthelemy, Fragts. tom. ii. p. 255.
[3] Herodotus in Melp. cap. 164.

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admit that to be the case, and at some future time, when I have occasion to speak of this class of coins, I shall offer some cogent reasons for believing that they belong to a much more ancient period than is assigned to them by Herodotus. Neither is the comparative execution of the Lydian and Persian money a fair criterion for judging of their respective antiquity; for the arts had doubtless attained much greater perfection amongst the Lydians than they had in Persia, even at a later period than the Persian conquest of Lydia. The same connexion which has been pointed out between the gold coins of Persia and Lydia, may also be remarked in those of silver, in the fabrication of which another standard is employed: the silver Persian coins, with the type of the archer, weigh about 83 grains; whilst the Lydian I have weighed, vary from 81 to 83, and the larger of these latter described in the list which precedes under No. 2, weighs 161 grains. I lay some stress on this connexion, because I have never discovered a similar difference between the gold and silver coinage of any other ancient country—the same standard being invariably used in both metals. This circumstance in itself is important, as the money in both cases must in all probability have been struck by two people, intimately connected with each other by customs and interests.

Having shown from ancient authors, and from probability, that our coins agree with what might have been expected of the money of the kings of Lydia, I shall now offer a few reflections which may be deduced from the coins themselves. Amongst these, my observations on the localities where the coins are found, are important,—particularly as a residence of more than twenty years very near to, and a frequent intercourse with, the places within the boundaries of the old Lydian territories, enables me to speak with certainty; and the result will be found most

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fully to justify the classification I propose. In four separate instances where those of gold have reached me, one was found at Casabá, a village not far from Sardis, and the others from places still nearer the ruins of the ancient Lydian capital. In silver, the examples are almost endless, as more than one hundred have been brought to me at different periods; and in every instance, where the truth could be elicited, they were discovered within a circle of 30 miles from the same capital;—this then is sufficient to satisfy those who would class them to Acanthus, Salamis, or Samos; since, although my intercourse with those places has been equally frequent, I have never seen a single specimen among the coins brought from those countries.

Very different from coins successively issued through a long period of time, and of which their relative dates may be approximately fixed by the style of their execution, those under consideration have this singular peculiarity,—that they all appear nearly of the same age. Neither in the workmanship of the principal type, nor in the form of the indented squares on the reverse is any material difference to be observed. This circumstance, however, is highly favourable to my hypothesis; for if these coins originated with Croesus, as the expressions of Pollux would lead us to suppose, they of course ceased to be struck at his captivity, and when the Lydian kingdom no longer existed. Croesus succeeded to the throne of his father (Alyattes) in the first year of the 55th Olympiad, or before Christ 559 years; and fourteen years later he was taken prisoner by Cyrus; and the Lydian monarchy was at an end.[4] Thus all these coins must have been struck within the short space of fourteen years, which accounts in the most satisfactory manner for the resemblance they bear to

[4] Larcher's Chronology is followed.

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each other, since but little improvement could have occurred in the art of engraving in so short a period.

Considering, therefore, 1st. the fabric of these coins, which corresponds with the period when Croesus ruled in Lydia: 2dly. the places where they are constantly found, within a limited circle—of which Sardis, the capital of the Lydian kingdom, forms the centre: 3dly. the numbers that have reached us, all similar in style and type: 4thly. the similitude they bear in their weight, both as regards the silver and gold, to the Persian money;—from a review, I say, of all these considerations, the conclusion becomes inevitable, that these coins must have been issued by a rich and powerful Asiatic prince of that age, in a country whose independence was of short duration; and to whom can these particulars apply except to Croesus?

With regard to the devices on these singular coins, little remains of the history of the Lydian kingdom, from which we can expect to derive a satisfactory explanation. There are, however, several striking points of analogy. On early money, the Lion is a favourite symbol. On the coins of Cyzicus that animal very probably alluded to the worship of Cybele. It may have the same meaning here, for Cybele was venerated at Sardis, as we are informed by Herodotus; or if not Cybele, a goddess whose attributes were similar, and who is probably the same as is mentioned by Stephanus, by the name of *Ma*. Herodotus positively says, when speaking of the destruction of Sardis, by the Greeks,—that the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of the place, was burnt upon the occasion,[5]—an event which served as a pretext, when Xerxes invaded Greece, for the burning of the temples of those cities which fell into his power. The same historian informs us, that the figure of a Lion of gold

[5] Herodotus, lib. 5. cap. 102.

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was amongst the presents sent by Croesus to Delphi,[6] when he consulted the oracle of Apollo. There is another passage in ancient history, which shows that the Lion had some connexion with Lydia,—where Herodotus says that a Lion was the offspring of Metes (one of the last kings of Lydia of the race of the Heraclidae), and a concubine. On this occasion, the famous Telmessian divines were consulted; and Metes was ordered by them to carry it round the walls of Sardis, which would render the city impregnable.[7] It was at a part of the wall opposite to Tmolus (where, by its natural strength, no danger could be apprehended, and where, in consequence, the Lion was not carried), that the Persians under Cyrus entered and reduced the city. The passage, however, is rendered differently by translators.—Beloe has imagined that the son of Metes, by his concubine, was a human being, whose name was Leon; whilst Larcher favours the opinion that a Lion is meant by the historian. He remarks, in a note on the passage, that the absurdity of the idea of a woman giving birth to a Lion, caused him to reflect a long time whether Herodotus' meaning was not rather that the child was named Leon. But after considering that, in the text, the Lion is twice repeated,—that Herodotus was exceedingly superstitious, and ignorant, like all those of his time, of natural history,—and that, had there been no prodigy, there would have been no occasion to have consulted the Telmessian priests,—he was determined to adopt the latter opinion. There can be little hesitation in admitting the acuteness and justness of Larcher's remarks; and thus there is no emblem that could better suit the Lydian money than this of the Lion,—the protecting genius, and type of their power and independence, as declared by the oracle; and we know that many other ancient cities

[6] Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 50. [7] Idem, lib. 1. cap. 80.

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had some prodigy of the kind mixed up with their earlier history, which very frequently was commemorated on their money, or other monuments.

The Bull forming the other half of the type (if not referring to some similar tradition) was used by the ancients as allegorical of a river, and might be intended here to represent the Pactolus—famous for its golden sands; and which, running through the Agora of Sardis[8] might have been considered, with the Citadel perambulated by the Lion, an additional protection for the city. I should prefer, however, considering this symbol (the Bull) as allusive also to the Lydian goddess *Ma*, or Cybele; for we learn from Stephanus,[9] that the Bull was offered by the Lydians as a sacrifice to her; and the city of Mastaura, in Lydia, we are told, took its name from this religious ceremony. "Mastaura, urbs Lydiæ, a Ma, quae Rheam sequebatur, cui Jupiter Bacchum nutriendum dedit. Rhea etiam vocabatur Ma; et ipsi apud Lydos taurus sacrificabatur, a qua urbi nomen." H. P. BORRELL.

Smyrna, 9th February, 1840.

XXXIV.

ON SOME COINS CONNECTED WITH THE GEOGRAPHY OF GALATIA.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ.

Assistant in the Depart. of Antiq. Brit. Mus., Assist. Sec. for the English Section of the Archæological Institute of Rome.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Jan 30, 1840.]

SINCE the last communication which I had the honour of laying before the Society, two additional coins of Galatia,

[8] Chandler Trav. in Asia Minor, pag. 225.

[9] Steph. Byz. v. Μαστανρα; and Lenormant, Etude de la Réligion Phrygienne de Cybèle; Nouvelles Annales de l'Insititut Archéologique, pag. 223.

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which are, I believe, unedited, have fallen under my notice in the National Cabinet; one is of the Trocmi.

Obv.—ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ. Nike, or Victory, gradient to the left, holding in her right hand a crown, and in her left a palm branch.

R.—ΤΡΟΚΜΩΝ. Laurelled bearded head to the left. Æ. iiij. ½. (*British Museum.*)

Now, I prefer this arrangement to what I have formerly published in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 169, for the imperial types read Σεβαστηνων [1]τροκμων, Σεβαστηνων Τεκτοσαγων ΣΕ[βαστηνων] ΤΡ[οκμων] Ταουιανων; and this, I think, justifies the placing of the apparent obverse last. It appears, that M. Allier de Hauteroche had previously doubted the existence of the Sebasteni, but had assigned the medals bearing the legend Σεβαστηνων to Ancyra, owing to the inscription referred to in Tournefort. I do not yet appreciate the evidence which assigns these coins to Ancyra, for the decree of the district would naturally be registered at its capital, and the Trocmi bear the same appellation. It is more probable, that the whole province of Galatia may have had the epithet applied to it than a particular town, and the coins which I have cited with[2] ΣΕ[βαστηνων] ΤΡΟ[κμων] ΤΑΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ, seem to indicate—of the Tavians of the Trocmi, of the Sebasteni, or of the Augustan Trocmi. Now Tavium was the capital of the Trocmi, and the expression can hardly imply a triple alliance. This detail, which may appear tedious, is called for to settle the question of the Sebasteni; for if we admit this name to be that of a Galatian division, the coins must refer to alliances entered into between the states. Municipal flattery generally

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[1] Mionnet, iv. and Supp. viii. 640.

[2] Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. iii. pp. 179 sq. who hesitates between ΣΕ[ουηριανων] and ΣΕ(βαστηνων) nisi fortè legendum. This question is now settled.

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placed their imperial appellations first, and Ιουλιεων των και Λαοδικεων, "The Julians," *alias* "The Laodiceans," was used by the neighbouring state of Laodicea of Phrygia; Καισαρεων, "The Cæsareans" was also applied by the Trallians to themselves; and numerous instances of the like formula occur, which were probably copied from the Latin manner of expressing it, as Coloniæ Augustæ, Troadis, &c. This is an additional argument in favour of the original supposition. The coin described may be considered as one of those in which a relation exists between the obverse and reverse, for the evidence of the others points out that the head is that of Zeus, or Jupiter; and the reverse alludes to his type of νικηφόρος, or Victory-bearer, so common on the currency of Alexander the Great. Yet the Galatian coins generally present the seated types of the Zeus Keraunios, with the eagle before him. The analogy, however, of those bearing Victory on the reverse, to the head on the obverse, is not limited to Galatia. The coins of Side, in Pamphylia, in the same manner, bear the head of Pallas Athene, and the Νίκη, on the reverse, indicating her type to be the Pallas Athene Nikephoros. As the territory of the Trocmi was the most fertile of the portions which had fallen to the Galatians,[3] this confirms the opinion which I had previously expressed with regard to a coin edited by me from the same cabinets; and their capital, Tavium, or Tavia,[4] was a city of considerable extent, and famous for a colossal bronze statue of Jupiter placed[5] in a sacred grove, having the right of an asylum. Is it too much to suppose, that the evidence of the present and

[3] Cramer Geogr. Descr. of Asia Minor. 8vo. Oxf. 1832. Vol. ii. p. 98.

[4] Plin. v. 32. Steph. Byz. Αγκυρα, Hierocles, p. 96.

[5] Strabo xii. Ταονίον εμπόρειον τῶν ταύτῃ, ὅπου ὁ τοῦ Διὸς κολοσσὸς χαλκοῦς καὶ τέμενος ἄσυλον.

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preceding coin clearly shows, that the type of that Jupiter, like the Olympian, was *Nikephoros?* If a coin of the class, having the inscription *Sebastenon*, belong to the same locality, the same deity, which appears full face on the coin previously published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, represents the god full face, and the others his profile.

The next coin, to which I have the honour of calling the attention of the Society, is as follows:—

Obv.—Protome of the Deus Lunus, to the right.

R.—CEBACTHNΩN. Hugieia standing looking to the left, and dressed in an ample peplum; in her right hand a snake, which feeds out of a patera in her left. Æ. 4. (*British Museum*). Vid. Pl. fig. 2.

I have considerable doubts, from the fabric of this coin, whether it should rightly be attributed to Galatia or Phrygia; and the style of its execution is undoubtedly not that which usually prevails on the Galatian currency. The worship of the moon was also far more prevalent in Phrygia, and rather borrowed by the Galatians from their neighbours. That of Asclepios also chiefly prevailed in Phrygia, although some mention of the festivals of this deity occurs on the marbles found in the vicinity of Galatia. Pellerin assigns the coins bearing the epithet Σεβαστηνων only upon them to Ancyra of Galatia, on the authority of the inscriptions, as Η μητροπολις Γαλατιας σεβαστη Τεκτοσαγων Ανκυρα; but the medallic authority of two autonomous coins of the Trocmi, which I have published with that of the Tectosages, edited by Eckhel, is against it. The evidence of inscriptions is also considerably in favour of the supposition, that the Sebasteni were not a people of Galatia, although so supposed by Eckhel; and I will add to the chain of deductions in my former paper, the expressions, Σεβαστηνων Θεσσαλων, Σεβαστηνων Λαμιεων[6], which occur as titles of the Thessalians

[6] Eckh. Doc. Num. Vet. iii. p. 180.

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and the Lamians. The figure of Hugieia refers to Asclepios her father, and the vessel out of which she feeds the snake is the μετανίπτρον ὑγιείας, and the ποτήριον Διὸς Σωτῆρος mentioned by ancient authorities. Her presence on this coin, if Galatian, must refer to the Asclepiac games, called the great Asclepiacs, and celebrated under a Galatarches, or commandant of Galatia, similarly to Asiarches, of the whole of Asia Minor. There are several coins already published, bearing on one side the legend Σεβαστηνων, and on the other the κοινον Γαλατων. These may indicate alliances between a Phrygian town and the Galatian community, or that the Sebasteni were the same as the Koinon Galaton; while the limitation to Ancyra of these coins is totally inadmissible from the arguments of Eckhel, who justly observes, that Ancyra itself never has the expression Σεβαστηνων prefixed to its name, although one inscription mentions Μητροπολις της Γαλατιας Σεβαστη Ανκυρα. But the coins themselves approximate in execution more to those of Phrygia; and the opinion previously expressed, that the Sebastenon is a provincial epithet, is, at all events, worth deeper research, before the single authority of the text of Pliny can be admitted.

A third unedited coin of the Sebasteni, I have also the honour of mentioning from the same collection:—

Obv.—CEBACTOC. Protome of Nero in a paludamentum to right.
R.—IOYΛIOC ΔIONYCIOC...CEBACTHNΩN. Zeus Aëtophoros seated, holding a sceptre in his left hand. Æ. 4. (*British Museum*). Vid. Pl. fig. 3.

The space, which has never been properly struck between the OC and CE, deprives us of the opportunity of learning the functions of the local officer, which would have been an additional guide to our research. There is sufficient space for αρχ, and then it would have been αρχιερευς, for we know already of one officer, as αγωνοθησας δις του τε κοινου των Γαλατων και των ιερων αγωνων των μεγαλων Ασκληπδιων,

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&c.: αρχιερευς, &c. Γαλαταρχης σεβαστοφαντης.[7] My researches have not hitherto been successful in finding out any circumstance connected with the name of Julius Dionysius, who was probably a personage of mere local importance. The[8] types of Jupiter are far more common to the Galatian currency than the lunar deities, and are connected by traditions already mentioned. I may here correct an error made by me in mentioning the types of Deiotarus, king of this country, which do not bear an eagle grasping thunder, but holding in its talons a sceptre, and the whole placed between two stellated pilei of the Dioscuri.

Since the reading of this Paper before the Society, I have to add the following confirmatory proofs from medallic inscriptions, which are quoted by Cramer in his *Asiatic Geography* from Sestini. The town of Adana, in Cilicia, was called the Hadrianic, from the name of Hadrian, and in honour of this emperor, Αδριανων Αδανεων. Other medals testify that Macrinus also had the honour of his name being affixed to the same state, as Μακρεινιανων Αδανεων, "the Macrinian Adanians." Were a coin found in this locality, with the Αδριανων, no reasoning could suppose, with justice, that the Hadrianians were a distinct and separate state, or people. The city of Tarsus[10] again abounds in the epithets, Αδριανη, Κομοδιανη, Σευηριανη, Αντωνειναινη, the Hadrianian, Comodian, Severian, and Antoneinian (Caracallian). Such titles might be assumed, upon contested succession, to indicate the faction to which the state

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[7] Eckh. iii. p. 178.

[8] The alliance of the worship of Jupiter with that of Asclepios and Hygieia, was not uncommon either on sepulchral bas reliefs or inscriptions. "Jovi et Asclepi et Hygoiæ," commences one, quoted by M. Le Bas. Expédition Français au Morée. Vol. ii. 114. Fo. Par. [9] Vol. ii. p. 350.

[10] Id. loc. cit. p. 347. Kibura was also called Καισαρεων, or Cesarean.

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belonged; but the honour must have been at least ambiguous, when so freely rendered, although the imperial free towns humbly imitated the degraded mistress of the world, and her contemptible senate. In all these instances, the τῶν καὶ, or *alias*, may be implied, although the expressions may be copied from the Latin, Augustanus, Severianus, &c., which came into adoption. Games also derived their names from the emperors; and the Σεβαστειων, or Augustan games, appear intermingled with the Ασκληπειων, or Asclepiacs. Some rare examples occur of towns actually dropping[11] for a while their old appellation, by which they had been known for centuries, and resuming, under a different political horizon, their ancient name. From all this evidence, may not the following results be deduced? First, that the coins inscribed Σεβαστηνων do not certainly belong to Ancyra only; secondly, that it is uncertain whether they indicate a separate people or district; thirdly, that they are probably the general currency of the province of Galatia which assumed this name, consequent upon the new arrangements which it received in a geographical point of view about the epoch of Augustus.[12]

PESSINUS.

Obv.—ΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΡΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΩ ЄΥСЄ. Head of Antoninus Pius laureated to right.

R.—ΓΑΛ ΤΟΛΙС ΠЄССΙΝΟΥΝΤΙΩΝ. Hercules naked, his head and shoulders clothed in the lion's skin, holding in the left hand his bow, and supporting himself by leaning upon his club from under his arm. His club rests upon a bull's head, full face; his right arm is placed on his thigh, looking to the right; behind him is his corytos (bow-case). Æ. 10. (*British Museum.*) Vid. Pl. fig. 4.

Eckhel[13] very judiciously remarks, that none of the coins

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[11] Ἐν Ελευσῃ, τῇ μετωνομάσμενη, Σεβαστη, Joseph. Antiq. xvi. c. 4.

[12] Cf. Cellarius Geogr. Galatia and Citation of Tszetszes.

Τὴν Αγκύραν δ' ἦν ἔφημεν, τῆς Γαλατίας εὗρον
Κτίσαι τὸν Οκταονῖον Καίσαρα τὸν Ρωμαῖον.—Chil. i. 131.

[13] Tom. iii. p. 179.

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of Pessinus present types having any relation to the local myths of the metropolis of the Tolistobogii. It is indeed rather extraordinary, that some of these, which were of a nature very peculiar, did not exercise the talents, to use such a term, of the provincial artists, the more especially as they bore allusions to the name of the city itself. One of them, with the fall of Icarus, is too far fetched, to concede even to Eckhel the supposition, that it could hint even the appellation of the town; and the present coin, which is evidently a Roman first brass coin in a Greek garb, indicates that the Pessinuntine artists servilely copied the issues of the Roman mint, the very formula of the legend of the obverse being imitated from the Latin Imperatori Cæsari Hadriano Antonino Pio. The expectation which had been entertained, that the inscriptions of the Tolistobogii might, like their confederates, have borne the epithet Sebasteni, is not justified by the coin under consideration, for it reads Γαλατων Τολιστοβογιων Πεσσινουντιων. The attitude of Hercules is similar to the statue in the Louvre, which represents Hercules resting after his capture of the Cretan bull, the subject of his seventh labour; and the choice of Hercules for the type, probably arose from the previous monarchs of Galatia adopting by preference this deity on their currency, which well suited with the disposition of a warlike race, for the myth of Hercules appears not to have been that of the locality previous to the irruptions of the Gauls. It must, however, be considered as a Roman personification, and copied from some[14] statue then adorning the Capitol of the world, rather than connected with any of those which may have been worshipped at Pessinus.

[14] In the Louvre, vid. Descript. des Antiques du Musée Royal de Louvre, Par. M. le Cte. Clarac, Par. 1820. p. 181. No. 432. It is a statue, a copy of the Farnese Hercules of Glycon.

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XXXV.

UNPUBLISHED BRITISH COINS. No. VI.

THE ten remarkable ancient British coins engraved in the accompanying plate, were dug up about twenty years back at Ashdown Forest, Sussex, with as many more, and came immediately into the possession of Dr. G. A. Mantell, by whom they have been kindly communicated to our *Chronicle*.

A glance at the plate will shew, that these pieces differ materially from any hitherto published, the obverses of the five last bearing a head wearing a Grecian helmet, and the workmanship being in very high relief. They are quadruples of Nos. 4 and 5, which are by far the smallest pieces of British origin we have ever seen. They are all convex and concave, and Nos. 2 and 3 are impressed on one side only. Although the last five pieces are evidently of the same type, they are plainly struck from different dies. The whole have, therefore, been engraved, that any peculiarity may not escape the notice of our numismatists. It is worthy of observation, that the ornament above the horse on Nos. 2 and 3 is somewhat similar to that on Mr. Huxtable's coin (No. 2.) in our last plate of British coins.[1] Perhaps no pieces yet discovered more satisfactorily prove the existence of a stamped currency in Britain previous to the arrival of Cæsar. All these coins are certainly formed on the Greek model, and bear not the least resemblance whatever to the money of the Romans. M. Thomsen, keeper of the coins in the Royal Cabinet of Copenhagen, in a communication with which we have

[1] p. 191.

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recently been favoured, observes, that those Gaulish and British coins which most resemble the prototype (the money of Philip of Macedon) are doubtless the earliest. This is partly admitted by some of our English numismatists; and though it may not, in *all* cases, be the fact, there are good reasons for believing that such an hypothesis is well grounded. If it may be admitted with regard to the pieces here engraved, they must be referred to a very early period.

These coins have been engraved with the most scrupulous attention to accuracy, and we have merely to subjoin the weights, which are as follow:—

No. 1.	17 grs. *gold.*	No. 6.	17 grs. *silver.*
2.	20 grs. *gold.*	7.	19 grs. *silver.*
3.	17 grs. *brass.*	8.	17 grs. *silver.*
4.	3½ grs. *silver.*	9.	18 grs. *silver.*
5.	4 grs. *silver.*	10.	13 grs. *silver.*

J. Y. A.

XXXVI.

RESTITUTION TO HISTIÆOTIS, IN THESSALY, OF SEVERAL COINS HITHERTO CLASSED TO HISTIÆA, IN EUBŒA.

My Dear Sir,

You request me to continue my numismatic observations; I presume, therefore, that the few I have sent you have been to your liking. Shut out from the world as I am in this corner of Asia Minor, my means are much limited; books of reference are not often to be had; and my remarks must, of course, be incomplete and unsatisfactory. On the other hand, I possess advantages not always unimportant,

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of observing the localities where particular coins are found, which affords to one resident here a means denied, in a great measure, to the European medallists, of detecting incorrect attributions. I shall, therefore, as my leisure permits, make you acquainted not only with any new discoveries that may come under my notice, but also point out any changes in the classification of coins already known, which may seem necessary.

The object of this letter is to propose the restitution of a number of coins which abound in every collection, and have been classed by all writers to the town of Histiæa, in Eubœa, to Histiæotis, a province of Thessaly. You know the coins to which I allude; they are as follows:—

Obv.—Head of a Bacchante, crowned with grapes and ivy leaves, wearing earrings and a necklace.

Rev.—ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ. A female sitting on the prow of a galley; beneath is a trident. Æ. 3. Weight, 35½ grs. (See Mionnet, Tom. ii. p. 308).

I have selected one coin only, because the principal types are the same, and they only differ from each other in the accessory symbols, or in the position of the letters of the legend. There exists also a tetradrachm bearing the same type,[1] but as I have not seen it, I cannot decide as to its genuineness. That these coins cannot belong to Eubœa I think is evident; as we learn, that in the eighty-third Olympiad, the Eubœans having revolted against Athens,[2] Pericles reduced them to obedience,[3] and as a price of their pardon, an annual tribute was imposed on them.[4] In this treaty the Histiæans did not participate; they had treacherously murdered the crew of an Athenian galley, which drew

[1] Mionnet, Supp. iv. Pl. xii. No. 1, gives an engraving of this coin.
[2] Thucydides, lib. i. cap. 114.
[3] Plutarch in Vit. Peric.
[4] Aristophon. apud Eustath. ad Dions. Perieg. v. 520.

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on them the vengeance of the conqueror: they were driven into exile, and their city was destroyed. Here, then, we have an end of the Eubœan Histiæa, as early as the time of Pericles; and certainly no one can maintain that any of the coins which now occupy our attention were struck previous to this event. It is true another city near the spot was built by a colony of 2000 Athenians,[5] but the old name was abandoned, and the new city was called *Oreus*.[6] As the new inhabitants were Athenians, it is not probable that at a later period the name of Histiæa was resumed. Historians always designate it by its new name of *Oreus*. The only exception is to be found in Pausanias, where he speaks of its having been taken by the Roman Consul Atilius, in the war against Philip;[7] but as a proof that it was unusual, a little while after he adds, that some persons still call Oreus by its ancient name of Histiæa.[8] The same persons here alluded to were indubitably not inhabitants of Oreus, but of other parts of Greece. We must, however, admit the fact related by Pausanias, that Oreus was sometimes called by its old name; but as it has been remarked that the citizens of Oreus were descendants of Athenians, and of course held in execration the memory of the act committed by the people of Histiæa, it is not to be supposed that the old name was ever resumed on the money. If it had been, Pausanias's observation would have been ridiculous; for if the inhabitants themselves resumed on their public currency the name of Histiæa, what could he have found strange in the circumstance of Oreus being sometimes called by its ancient name?

If then we look at the coins with the legend ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΩΝ, we must assign them a date much more modern, as has

[5] Theopompus apud Strabo, lib. x. Diodorus, lib. xii., says 1000 men. [6] Ptolemy, lib. iii. cap. 15, calls it "Horæus."
[7] Pausanias, lib. vii. cap. 7. [8] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 26.

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been before observed, than the time of Pericles; and this being conceded, there remains no other place to which we can assign them, but to the people of the same name in Thessaly. The province of Histiæotis, in Thessaly, formerly called Doris, from Doris the son of Hellenus, took the name of Histiæotis, from a number of captives brought there by the Perrhæbians, from Histiæa, in Eubœa. Its geographical situation is variously described by ancient authors. Strabo places it between Pindus and the Upper Macedonia.[9] Ptolemy includes within its limits the towns of Phæstus, Gomphi, Atinium, Tricca, Ctemene, Chrysillia, and Metropolis,[10] to which Livy adds Phia and Itome.[11]

Although it is certain that the coins in question are of a later period than the time of Pericles, it is difficult to fix their positive date; the fabric would indicate an epoch corresponding with the reign of Philip V. of Macedonia, or perhaps even later. If they really were struck at this time, Thessaly then either belonged to the Macedonian king, or to their Roman conquerors; and we have examples of other coins, apparently of the same epoch, struck by the Macedonians, with the legend ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, by the Amphaxitæ, and by the Bottæans,—all states situated in the immediate vicinity of each other. The weights of all these coins are similar, as well as their fabric; and the execution of the head of the Bacchante on the obverse of the coins of Macedonia, in many instances, is so exactly like the head on those of Histiæa, that it might be presumed they were the work of the same artist.[12] They are also found

[9] Strabo, Loc. sup. cit. [10] Ptolemy, lib. iii. cap. 13.
[11] T. Livius, lib. 32.
[12] Strabo informs us, that the Thessalian province of Histiæotis bordered on the Upper Macedonia, which in some degree justifies this remarkable resemblance.

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together,—large numbers having been brought me from different parts of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly; and in one instance, more than 3000 came into my possession, about three-fourths of which were of Histiæa, and the remainder (excepting six of Bottæa) were of Macedonia. Such is their extraordinary abundance, however, that no particular importance attaches to the places where they are discovered. They appear to have had a most extensive circulation, for they are found not only in the countries just mentioned, but all over Greece, the islands, and not unfrequently in Asia Minor. The circumstance of the coins of Macedonia and Histiæa being found together so frequently (I may add also those of Bottæa, though more rare), indicates that they had an equal value in commerce; were struck contemporaneously by neighbouring people using the same monetary standard, and most probably living under the same general laws. How, then, can these particulars in any way refer to Histiæa, in Eubœa, even without taking into consideration the difficulties referred to at the commencement of these remarks?

To assign these coins, then, a particular epoch, or explain the motive which led to their fabrication, are points which present much difficulty. If they originated during the latter part of the reign of Philip, or of his successor, it may be presumed that some changes may have been made by those sovereigns. Both Philip and Perseus were in situations which made it necessary to conciliate both their subjects and allies. Unusual privileges, under certain difficult circumstances, were very probably accorded to bind them more firmly to their interests; or, if they were struck after the final ruin of the latter prince, then, they may have been intended as the circulating medium till the country was ultimately reduced to a Roman province; when the privilege

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of striking money in the precious metals was denied, with but few exceptions, to all the conquered territories.

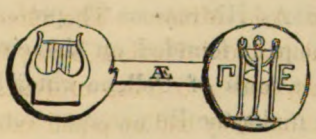
Your obedient and humble servant,

H. P. BORRELL.

Smyrna, Jan. 1840.

To THOMAS BURGON, Esq., London.

Nº 4



XXXVII.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE COINS OF PELLENE, IN ACHAIA; WHICH HAVE BEEN ERRONEOUSLY CLASSED BY NUMISMATIC WRITERS TO PELLA, IN MACEDONIA, PELINNA, IN THESSALY, AND TO THE ISLAND OF PEPARATHUS.

SIR,

YOU ask my opinion on some coins you lately brought with you from Greece. They are, as you are aware, nearly all of cities of Achaia—that is, of Corinth, Sicyon, Patræ, and Phlius; but what affords me the greatest pleasure, is finding amongst them many coins which I always felt persuaded belong to Pellene, in Achaia, and which have long remained misclassed to various other places, and I consider the present a good opportunity for declaring my opinions on the subject. The first of these coins to which I desire to draw your attention, is that in silver, already published and well known, as follows:—

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No I.—Head of Apollo Theoxenius, laureated, to the right.
R.—ΠΕΛ within a laurel wreath.[1]—Æ.3. Weight, 43 grs. Mionnet, tom ii., p. 480, No. 217. Under Pella, in Macedonia, and Mionnet, Supplement iii., p. 300, No. 227, and note.

Pellerin was the first numismatic writer[2] who classed this coin to Pella, in Macedonia; in which he is followed by Sestini and Eckhel.[3] Mionnet appears to have had some doubt on the subject, and in his supplement he assigns it to Pelinna, in Thessaly, in preference to the opinions of other antiquaries, who would rather attribute it to Pellene, in Achaia. His reasons for preferring Pelinna to Pellene are principally founded on the circumstance, that there are no other coins of Pellene which have reached us but those struck under the Roman emperors, Septimius Severus, and others of his immediate family; and that it would be consequently exceedingly remarkable that so many centuries should have elapsed between the striking of these autonomous and those imperial coins, supposing them to belong to the same city.[4] With all due deference to the opinion of this distinguished antiquary, I must confess myself inclined to agree with those who would class them to Pellene, in Achaia, and shall endeavour to remove any objections that might be opposed to it by those of a contrary opinion. For many years I have constantly observed that this description of coin is invariably brought

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[1] Sestini, in his "Descript. Num. Vet." p. 108, cites a coin in gold of this type, from the collection of Baron Schellersheim; there is but little doubt that the coin is merely gilt, or cast from one in silver.

[2] Pellerin, Rec., tom. i., p. 186.

[3] Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet.

[4] Neither are there any intermediate coins between the autonomous and the imperial of the family of Septimius Severus, of Phlius, or Sicyon.

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from the Peloponnesus: you will have seen yourself that yours were from that country. A solitary instance would be inconclusive; but you know it has always been a custom with me to note from whence all the coins that come within my observation are found—a custom I most strongly recommend to you as being often of the greatest importance, united to other data, in doubtful cases—and I repeat, that the silver coin under consideration, as well as the copper coins I shall have occasion to speak of, have been invariably found in the Peloponnesus. Another important evidence in favour of those who would ascribe the coin to Pellene, is the weight,—a proximity to the same standard being natural in neighbouring cities of the same state; and it is worthy of remark, that the weight of this coin agrees as nearly as possible with that of the coins of Phlius and Sicyon: while, on the other hand, it bears no analogy whatever to the money of any city of Thessaly. The style of fabric which Mionnet considers to accord with that in use in Thessaly, appears to me to be quite the reverse. The head of Apollo upon your coin, as well as all others I have seen, is similar to the head of that god on the numerous coins of Sicyon; and the same similitude of work and style may be observed in the laurel wreath on the reverse,—not only on the coins of Sicyon, but of other towns within the Achaian state. That there should be some strong features of resemblance between the coins of Sicyon and Pellene is by no means strange, on account of the vicinity of those towns. Pausanias says, speaking of the Achaian cities, "The first of these which looks towards Elis, is Dyone; then Olenus, Helice, Aegae, Aegira, Pellene, follow; which last looks towards Sicyonia.[5]" We are also informed by the same

[5] Pausanias, lib. vii., c. 6.

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author that Apollo was the tutelary deity of the city, and was venerated with peculiar devotion by the people. He speaks of a magnificent temple of this god, who was surnamed Theoxenius; and of a statue of him in bronze. Games were also celebrated in his honour annually, which were called Theaxenia, and silver was given to the conqueror as a reward.[6]

From the testimony of Pausanias, united to the evidence I have adduced, does it not appear beyond doubt that these coins were struck at Pellene? It is, moreover, probable, that the head of the god is that of Apollo Theoxenius, copied from the statue in bronze described above; and, as the prizes given to the victors at the public games were of silver, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that this kind of coin was the reward:—in no other shape could it be so well adapted, bearing as it does on one side the effigy of the god, and on the reverse the laurel crown, at once the symbol of victory and a sacred attribute of the deity in whose honour all their exertions had been made.

I now come to the next coins, consisting of two varieties, of which there are several specimens in your parcel, in various states of preservation. Here is a description of them:—

No. 2.—Head of Apollo Theoxenius to the right.
R.—ΠΕ in monogramme, and a ram's head, the whole within a wreath of laurel.—Æ.4. Mionnet, tom ii., p. 27, No. 187. Idem, Supplement iii , p.311, No. 3, under Peparethus.
No. 3.—Head as the preceding, to the left.
R.—ΠΕ in monogramme, within a wreath of laurel. — Æ.2. Cab. M. Millingen, cited by Mionnet, Supplement iii., p. 311. No. 4.

Hunter, Eckhel, and Mionnet, have not hesitated to class

[6] Idem, lib. vii. c. 27.

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the coin No. 2 to the small island of Peparethus, situated near the coast of Thessaly; and the latter author has done the same with the No. 3, which he cites from the collection of M. Millingen; but I have not the least doubt that they are better suited to Pellene. Independent of their being found invariably in the Peloponnesus, it is only necessary to see them ranged amongst the coins really belonging to Peparethus, to be persuaded they are not in their place. The head of Apollo on the obverse of both, and the wreaths of laurel on the reverse, so exactly assimilate in point of style with those on the silver coins (No. 1 for example), as to induce a belief that, if they were not the work of the same hand, the same models must have served for both. Concerning the type of No. 3, I have nothing to remark in addition to what I said of the coin in silver, No. 1; it only differs by the letters ΠΕ in monogram, instead of the separate letters ΠΕΛ. I must observe, however, that Mionnet describes the wreath on the reverse to be composed of olive leaves; but, as I have now the coin before me, I am persuaded he is in error, and that, on all the three coins here noticed, in every case the laurel wreath is depicted.

The type on the reverse of the coin No 2, the ram's head, is also a subject that we might have expected to find employed on the money of Pellene. Several passages in ancient authors refer to the excellency of the wool of Pellene, which was wrought in highly esteemed mantles; and these were distributed as prizes to the victors in the public games celebrated in honour of Mercury.

To these three coins I will finish by adding another, which I saw for the first time in the parcel you sent me, and which certainly belongs to Pellene; it is as follows:—

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No. 4.—Lyre.
R. ΓΕ. A tripod.—Æ. 2½. Cab. of James Whittall, Esq. of Smyrna. *Unpublished.*[7]

Both the symbols on this coin, the lyre and the tripod, are in perfect harmony with the subjects on the other coins; alluding as they do to the worship of the principal deity of the place, Apollo.

Admitting that all these coins belong to Pellene (of which, for myself, I have no doubt), another of Mionnet's objections is overcome: and even if no other coins could be satisfactorily attributed to it, his argument would still be inadmissible; as Pellene is not the only city of Achaia of which no intermediate coinage has reached us, between the early autonomous money and those struck under the Roman emperor, Septimius Severus.

I remain, your obedient servant,

H. P. Borrell.

Smyrna, 30th January, 1840.

To James Whittall, Esq., Smyrna.

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7 See the wood-engraving at the head of the present valuable paper,—for which, as well as for his other important communications, our learned correspondent has our best thanks.—Ed.

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XXXVIII.

SOME REMARKS ON AN UNEDITED COIN OF PERGAMUS.

By Samuel Birch, Esq.

Assistant in the Depart. of Antiq. Brit. Mus., Assist. Sec. for the English Section of the Archæological Institute of Rome.

Obv.—ΑΥΤ. ΚΡΑ Τ (*sic*) Κ Μ ΑΥΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟϹ. Bust of the Emperor to the right, bearded and laureated in armour, on the lorica, head of the Medusa.

R.—ΕΠΙ ϹΤΡΑ ΚΑΙΡЄΛ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ Γ ΝΕ ΚΟΡΩΝ. The Emperor standing in military attire, with an abolla round his shoulders; in his left hand a lance, his right raised, saluting a serpent twined around a tree, its head towards the Emperor; the upper part of the tree, which has no branches, is arched forwards in the area between Telesphorus standing upon a pedestal, full face. Æ. 12½.

The Asclepios, represented on the coins of Pergamos, being the deity whose worship was imported from Epidaurus, must be the son of Coronis, the daughter of Phlegyas, by Apollo, who was exposed by his mother on the Mount Tithion, formerly called Myrtion, and is a personage of higher antiquity than the son of Apollo and Arsinoe, the daughter of Leusippus; a story which, it is observed by Pausanias, was probably interpolated in the poems of Hesiod in order to favour the pretensions of the Messenians. The scholiast, commonly attributed to Didymus, mentions Asclepios the son of Arsinoe or Coronis; another, sprung from Hesione, daughter of Merops; but, according to

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Hesiod, of Xanthinoe; and that he received the elements of his education from Chiron, son of Chronos and Philares, the inventor of music and medicine. As his children Machaon and Podalisius went to the Trojan war from Thessaly, and the seat of the Centaurs was in the same region, it is probable that his worship was imported from hence into Epidaurus, and the myth localised by the circumstance of its seat being in this locality. The criticism of Pausanias upon the passage in the Iliad where Machaon is sent for by Agamemnon appears rather straitened, and it may be doubted whether, at so early an epoch, the God of Medicine received honors of a higher order than those paid to personages of a secondary class, and intermediate between the gods and men; for, notwithstanding the assertion of Pausanias, it is doubtful whether Asclepios was worshipped at the earliest epoch. The traditions do not uniformly represent him as immortal; he was the offspring, according to all of them, of a deity and mortal. He is mentioned in Homer as the blameless physician only; into Hesiod his name and genealogy were interpolated; he was killed by the bolts of Jove, though subsequently restored to life. No work of art of high antiquity attests his worship, or even alludes to his myth; all evidence seems to concur in pointing out his semi-deism. He accompanied the Argonauts in their expedition, and is a personage of the heroic age. But at a later period, and coeval with the progress of medicinal art, he became invested with higher attributes; the abstraction of the power of healing was conferred upon the fabled inventor of the rude principles of the art, and the actions of others frequently by anachronism attributed to him. He is, however, most decidedly a personage of the heroic age connected with the Argolic myths—the connecting links between the

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mythic and historic times, when the dim light of true history commences its uncertain dawn; while the places where his worship is found, shew that he owes his investiture with immortality to an epoch certainly not beyond the ken of legitimate tradition.

At a later period, his worship became disseminated in Greece, and while his descent from Apollo, and the intervention of Artemis in the tragical circumstances attendant on his birth, connect him with the Doric race, the importation of his worship into Asia Minor seems to have been attended with the most signal success; and under the Imperial sway of the Romans, his worship and the respect paid him appear to fairly compete with deities of a much higher grade. With the important city of Pergamus the worship of Asclepios is identified by the indisputable evidence of a long suite of currency; and the authority of Pausanias informs us of the precise occasion which gave rise to the introduction of his worship into the state of Mysia. A certain Archias, son of Aristaichmos, being cured of a spasm of his limbs, which he had contracted in hunting upon Mount Pindarus, imported the worship of Asclepios into Pergamus, and from Pergamus it was carried to Smyrna. At the temple of Epidaurus were nourished a species of serpents, said only to be produced in that region, and of a yellow hue; and all kinds of serpents were said to be sacred to this deity among the people of Epidaurus. When from this place the worship of Asclepios was imported into Rome, during a pestilence, A. V. C. 462, the deity was supposed to have assumed the shape, and to have entered the ship sent to receive him: when he arrived at Rome, he escaped into an island of the Tiber.[1]

[1] Ovid. Metam. xv. 622, and sq.

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The present medallion, which has apparently not as yet fallen under the notice of numismatic writers, represents the deity under a similar avatar; and, since his worship was identified with that of serpents of a peculiar species, it is possible that, although not expressly stated, the Epidaurian reptiles were carried along with it; and it is to a similar reptile that the Emperor on the reverse is seen addressing his adorations:—

"Deus explicat orbes
Perque sinus crebros et magna volumina labent."

since no doubt can be entertained that the reptile twined round the tree replaces the figure of the deity himself, which appears upon other medals; and the presence of the child Telesphorus, standing in the area, proves the identity of the scene; for it must be to one of the living emblems of the god that the imperial proscynema is paid. The tree around which the serpent is twined is probably lent to accommodate the subject to the size of the coin, and is[2] perhaps a laurel, which was sacred to Asclepios, probably one of the *temena* or asylums, the right of which at Pergamus only, of all the Asiatic cities, was distinctly recognised and confirmed by the inquiries instituted during the reign of Tiberius. "Consules super eas civitates quas memorari," observes Tacitus,[3] "*apud Pergamum Aesculapii compertum Asylum* retulerant:" and this was no ordinary honor when the other *asyla* were not recognised by the State as resting upon assured traditions. The small figure is that of Telesphoros,[4] Enamerion, or Akerios, the grandson of Asclepios by Machaon, and who is constantly placed by his side on the monuments, the first being the

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[2] At Titané they were cypresses. Cf. Paus. ii. c. 11.
[3] Annal. iii. 63. [4] Paus. ii. c. 11.

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name peculiarly applied to the third personage of the Asclepiac triad by the inhabitants of Pergamus. The fact commemorated by this coin is the sleeping of Caracalla in the temple of Aesculapius at Pergamus for the sake of his health, A. U. C. 968, and the expression Πρωτων, a title conferred on the State by the superstitious Emperor, has already been commented upon by Eckhel. There is apparently nothing known, except from medallic information, of the name of the Prætor or Strategos.

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Ueber die „Kesitah" der heiligen Schrift.

Es kann mir nicht anders als erfreulich sein, daß ein einfacher Brief von mir der Ehre gewürdigt wurde, in Ihrem Numismatic Chronicle vom Januar 1839 übersetzt dem brittischen Publicum übergeben zu werden. Um so mehr fühle ich mich verpflichtet, über eine Stelle desselben Rechenschaft zu geben, bei welcher der gelehrte Uebersetzer durch Mißdeutung eines deutschen Wortes zu der Bemerkung veranlaßt wurde, daß der Sinn jener Stelle nicht ganz klar sei. Wenn ich schrieb, daß bei Hiob xlii. (nicht xcii), 11, wo man die älteste Spur des Ringgeldes findet, der goldene Ring der Kesitah zugegeben sei, so betrachtete ich den goldenen Ring nicht der Kesitah gleich, sondern nur als eine Zugabe (addition oder additament) derselben. Die Kesitah deren nicht nur im Hiob xlii. 11, und Genes. xxxiii. 19, sondern auch in Josua xxiv. 32, gedacht wird, war allerdings kein Ring, aber auch keine Münze mit dem Gepräge eines Lammes, wie Hottinger in Dissert. de Numis. Orient. pag. 110, behauptet, sondern nur ein Silbergewicht von unbestimmbarer Größe wie der älteste Sekel nichts anders als ein rohes Silberstück ohne Bild und Gepräge war. Denn es leidet keinen Zweifel, daß wenn gleich späterhin nach Rabbi Akiba bei Bochart. Hieroz, T. i. 3, c. 43. Kesitah die Benennung einer gewissen Münze in Afrika gewesen sein soll, die Hebräer vor der babylonischen Gefangenschaft noch kein geprägtes Geld hatten; sondern, wie wir aus Genes. xxiii. 16; xliii. 21; 2 Reg. xii. 5; Hiob xxviii. 15; Jerem. xxxii. 9, sq. und noch einigen andern Stellen deutlich ersehen, wurde das Silber nur gewogen, und war höchstens mit einem Zeichen versehen, wonach man die Feinheit und den Werth der Silberstücke bestimmte, so daß man sie nach 2 Reg. xii. 10, sq. nur zu zählen brauchte. Daß Kesitah ein Lamm bedeute, hat man bloß aus der Uebersetzung der lxx. ἑκατὸν ἀμνιῶν oder ἀμνάδων geschlossen, ohne sich dadurch irren zu lassen, daß eben jene lxx. auch Genes. xxxi. 7 und 41, das Wort קְשִׂיטָה durch ἀμνῶν oder ἀμνάσιν übersetzen, wie wohl einige auch schon μνῶν und μναῖς dafür zu lesen vorschlagen. Allein die lxx

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(TRANSLATION.)

ON THE KESITAH OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, 2nd Feb. 1840.]

THAT one of my letters should have had the honour of being translated into English, and published in your Numismatic Chronicle for January, 1839, cannot but be very gratifying to me: and for that reason I feel myself the more imperatively called upon to explain one passage in that letter, which appeared, as the translator of it, observes, rather obscure, in consequence of his having taken a German word, occurring in it, in a wrong sense. I had observed that in Job xlii. 11 (not xcii.), where the most ancient mention of ring money is found, the gold ring is joined with the Kesitah; but I did not say that it was equivalent to the Kesitah; I only remarked, that it is mentioned in conjunction with it.

The Kesitah, of which mention is made not only in Job (xlii. 11) and Genesis (xxxiii. 19), but likewise in Joshua (xxiv. 32), was certainly neither a ring, nor even a coin impressed with the figure of a lamb, as Hottinger affirms in his Dissertation de Nummis. Orientalibus (p. 110), but merely a silver weight of undetermined size, just as the most ancient shekel was nothing more than a piece of rough silver without any image or device. For it cannot be doubted that, though at a later period *Kesitah* was the name of a certain coin current in Africa, as we learn from Rabbi Akiba, quoted by Bochart (Hierozoïcon i. 3, c. 43), yet the Hebrews had no stamped money before the Babylonish Captivity; but, as plainly appears from Gen. xxiii. 16; xliii. 21; 2 Kings xii. 5; Job xxviii. 15; Jer. xxxii. 9, &c., and some other texts, their silver was only weighed, and at most impressed merely with a mark to determine its purity and value: so that according to 2 Kings xii. 10, the pieces were only counted.

That Kesitah signifies a lamb, has been inferred merely from the words ἑκατὸν ἀμνιῶν, or ἀμνάδων, used in the Septuagint version: yet the same version in Gen. xxxi. 7, 41, renders the word מֵנִים ἄμνῶν, or ἀμνάσιν, for which it has been proposed to read μνῶν and μνάϊς: so that this text did not lead to the same erroneous inference as the one mentioned above.

For the Hebrew word מָאָה however, the Septuagint has ἀμνὰ

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schrieben ἀμνα (nicht ἀμνὸς, wie man irrig angenommen hat) oder ἀμνὰς für das hebräische מָנֶה, wie die koptische Uebersetzung des N. T. nach Tattam's Lexicon ἀμνα oder ἐμνα für das griechische μνᾶ. Da dieses Wort jeden bestimmten Theil bezeichnete, mochte er abgewogen oder abgemessen sein, und Champollion der Jüngere pag. 221, dieses Wort auch in der Hieroglyphenschrift für poids et mesure nachgewiesen hat; so muß man die hebräische מְשִׁיטָה, der verschiedenen Schreibung ungeachtet um so mehr mit מָסָת (Krug) verwandt glauben, weil bei der Hieroglyphengruppe für μνᾶ immer ein Krug als determinatives Zeichen, auch schon in uralten Inschriften, steht. Dadurch, daß nach Genes. xlvii. 16, sq. Prov. xxvii, 26. Lämmer und anderes Vieh die Stelle des Geldes vertraten, läßt sich das Gepräge eines Lammes auf den ältesten Münzen eben so wenig erweisen, als das Gepräge eines Ochsen auf alt attischen Münzen, welcher Plutarchos schon dem Theseus Cap. 24. andichtet aus dem Sprüchworte βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώττης im *Etym.* M. i. v. ἑκατόμβη oder βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ, bei Hesychius, welcher i. v. καλλυβιστὴς auch κόλλυβος als Bezeichnung des Ochsen auf Kupfermünzen anführt. So richtig auch Pollux in seinem Onomasticon, lib. ix. bemerkt, daß die Korintische Münze von dem darauf ausgeprägten Pegasus πῶλος benannt ward, wie man auch die Münzen mit dem Gepräge einer Schildkröte χελώνια nannte, so wenig begründet ist Plutarch's Behauptung, Quest. Rom. 41, daß die Römer ursprünglich auch Münzen mit dem Gepräge eines Ochsen, Schafes und Schweines gehabt hätten. Aus der Wiederholung dieser Aussage im Leben des Valerius Publicola, cap. ii. ersieht man deutlich daß Varro's Deutung der Geldstrafe, worauf sich Festus, i. v. multa, peculatus, ovibus, æstimata, und Gellius xi. 1, beziehen, bei den Römern eine ähnliche Meinung erzeugte, wie das δεκάβοιον in Drako's Gesetzen Anlaß zu der auch in Villoison's Scholien zu Homer's Iliade, φ, 79, berührten Sage von Münzen mit dem Gepräge eines Ochsen gab. Richtig sagt zwar Varro L. L. v. 17, 92. *Pecuniosus* a pecunia magna, *pecunia* a pecu: a pastoribus enim horum vocabulorum origo, und setzt bald nachher hinzu, quod in pecore pecunia tum consistebat pastoribus,

[1] Des Eustathius zu Horn. H. ii. 449.

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(not ἀμνὸς, as has been erroneously assumed), or ἄμνὰς; just as the Coptic version of the New Testament has, according to Tattam's Lexicon, ἀμνα or ἐμνα for the Greek word μνᾶ. As that word signified every determinate portion, whether weighed or measured, and Champollion le Jeune has discovered the same word expressed in hieroglyphics, it is the more probable, that the Hebrew word קְשִׂיטָה Kesitah, notwithstanding the difference of spelling, has a relation in the word כֶּסֶת Kesetḥ, a pitcher, inasmuch as such a vessel is invariably the determinative symbol in the hieroglyphic group which expresses the word μνᾶ, even in inscriptions of a very remote antiquity.

It is said indeed in Gen. xlvii. 16, and Prov. xxvii. 26, that lambs and other cattle were used in the place of money; but this gives as little ground for inferring that the most ancient coin bore the image of a lamb, as that the coins of Attica bore that of an ox in the time of Theseus, as is erroneously affirmed by Plutarch (Thes. c. 24); misled by the proverb, βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώττης (Etym. Mag.); sub. v. ἑκατόμβη or βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ in Hesychius, who also sub. v. καλλυβιστὴς, mentions κόλλυβός as the term used to express the ox on a copper coin. The observation of Pollux in his Onomasticon, that the coin of Corinth was called πῶλος, from the figure of Pegasus stamped upon it; and that of other writers, that coins bearing the image of a tortoise were called χελώνια, are perfectly correct: but most groundless is the assertion of Plutarch (Quest. Rom. 41), that the Romans had also originally coins stamped with the figure of an ox, a sheep, and a hog. From his repetition of this assertion in the life of Valerius Publicola, it is clearly evident that Varro's mention of the pecuniary fine to which Festus (sub. v., *multa*, *peculatus*, *ovibus*, *æstimata*) and Gellius (xi. 1) refer, gave birth among the Romans to an opinion similar to one prevalent among the Greeks, in consequence of the δεκάβοιον in Draco's Laws, which was also the origin of a tradition* respecting coins stamped with the figure of an ox, noticed in Villoison's Scholia on Homer (Iliad, Φ 79).

Varro indeed says correctly, (L.L.V. 17, 92)—"Pecuniosus a

* Eustathius on Hom. Il. ii. 449.

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was derselbe R. R. II. i, 11, noch kürzer ausdrückt: a *pecu* ipsa *pecunia* nominata est: nam omnis pecuniæ pecus fundamentum; aber wenn er kurz zuvor zu den Worten: quis nescit, quod *multa* etiam nunc ex vetere instituto bubus et ovibus dicitur? hinzusetzt et quod aes antiquissimum, quod est flatum, pecore est notatum. So verfällt er in einen nicht geringern Irrthum, als Plinius der in seiner Naturgeschichte, xviii. 3 *, sogar bestimmt versichert: Servius rex ovium boumque effigie primus aes signavit. Mit Recht sagt schon Eckhel in seiner Doct. Num. Vet., vol. i. p. 2. Pliniano huic edicto non suffragantur numi, unde et permissum mihi existimo de etymi hujus veritate dubitare, obwohl Rasche kein Bedenken trug, in seinem Lexicon, Universæ rei numariæ veterum zu schreiben: *Pecunia* dicta fuit, seu quod pecudum loco, in mutandis deinceps mercibus adhiberetur, sive quod primorum numorum imagines fere pecudem referrent, bovem, ovem, arietem, equam, capram, suem, aut alia animalia. Glücklicherweise hat sich Plinius selbst auf eine solche Weise wiederholt, daß man deutlich erkennt, wie jene Behauptung vom Könige Servius durch Zusammenschmelzung zweier ganz verschiedener Behauptungen erwuchs, welche Plinius H. N. xxxiii. 13, durch einem fremdartigen Satz also spaltet: Servius rex primus signavit aes. Antea rudi usa Romæ Timæus tradit. Signatum est nota pecudum: unde et pecunia appellata. Mag also das Wort *pecunia* immerhin ursprünglich den Preiß bezeichnet haben, welchen man statt des Viehes bei Geldstrafen erlegte, weil nach Plinius, H. N. xxxiii. 3, multa legum antiquarum pecore constabat; so ist doch keineswegs daran zu denken daß die *sacra divinaque moneta*, wie man sie bei Spanheim De Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, page 18, richtig bezeichnet liefet, jemals das Gepräge jener Viehstücke als bloßen Besitzthumes enthalten habe, da selbst auf dem Ringgelde in den Pyramiden Nubiens nur Gottheiten und göttliche Symbole geprägt waren.

G. F. Grotefend.

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* Nach den Worten *Pecunia* ipsa a pecore appellabatur.

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pecuniâ magna; *pecunia* a pecu: a pastoribus enim horum vocabulorum origo;" and adds soon afterwards, "quod in pecore pecunia tum consistebat pastoribus;" which is more briefly expressed by the same writer (R.R. ii. 1, 11)—"A *pecu* ipsa *pecunia* nominata est: nam omnis pecuniæ pecus fundamentum:" but when to the words a little above, "quis nescit quod multa etiam nunc ex vetere instituto bubus et ovibus dicitur," he added, "et quod æs antiquissimum quod est flatum pecore est notatum," he fell into no less an error than Pliny, who in his Natural History (xviii. 3*) even asserts positively that "Servius rex ovium boumque effigie primus æs signavit." Eckhel, in his Doctrina Numor. Veter. (i. 2) had already justly said, "Pliniano huic edicto non suffragantur numi unde et permissum mihi existimo de etymi hujus veritate dubitare." Yet Rasche made no scruple to say in his Lexicon universæ rei numariæ veterum: "*pecunia* dicta fuit, seu quod pecudum loco in mutandis deinceps mercibus adhiberetur, sive quod primorum numorum imagines fere pecudem referrent bovem, ovem, arietem, equam, capram, suem, aut alia animalia." Fortunately Pliny has repeated his words in such a manner as to shew plainly how his assertion respecting King Servius arose from his having joined together two very distinct suppositions, which he (N. H. xxxiii. 13) thus separates by the insertion of a sentence not connected with them: "Servius rex primus signavit æs. Antea rudi usa Romæ Timæus tradit. Signatum est nota pecudum unde et pecunia appellata." So that the word *pecunia* may have originally signified the price paid as a pecuniary fine in lieu of cattle. Since, according to Pliny (N. H. xxxiii. 3)—"Multa legum antiquarum pecore constabat;" yet it can by no means be supposed that the *sacra divinaque moneta*, as it is rightly termed by Spanheim, "De Usu et Præstantiâ Numismatum" (page 18), ever bore the image of cattle as a mere possession, since even on the ring money found in the Nubian Pyramids there are no figures but those of gods, or divine symbols.

G. F. GROTEFEND.

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* After the words "pecunia ipsa a pecore appellabatur."

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MISCELLANEA.

MEDALS OF THE ROETTIERS.—In the last number of the Numismatic Chronicle you have inserted a copy of a document, purporting to be an account rendered by John Joseph and Philip Roettier, for their professional labours, in making and engraving the Great Seal, at the Royal Mint in the Tower of London. As a pendant to that interesting paper, permit me to communicate a copy of an advertisement which appeared in a newspaper (the "Flying Post," I think) in April, 1695. This advertisement is in my possession, and was, among a number of scraps of a similar description, relating to coins and medals, purchased at the sale of the late Mr. Matthew Young's books, in November, 1838.

> "One Medal of Copper of King Charles the First; on one side is represented his Effigies; on the other is a fine Landskip, with this Motto :—'Virtutem ex me, fortunam ex aliis.' Price each, gilt, 10s.; and 5s. plain. If bespoke in silver, price about 25s. each. Engraved and Coined by James and Norbertus Roettier, at the Mint in the Tower of London. Sold by Mr. Lane, Goldsmith, at the Rose in Lombard Street; and by several Booksellers and Cutlers in London and Westminster."

These curious papers suggest a question as to how many of the Roettier family were employed at the Royal Mint; for we see no less than *five* different names—John, Joseph, Philip, James, and Norbertus,* mentioned as medallists; and it would be interesting to learn what degree of relationship existed between them. Another query, not destitute of interest, relates to the correct orthography of the name; for in the *advertisement* we see it printed "Roettier," in the *account*, "Roettiers," and in the *petition* accompanying the account it is spelt "Jo. Roteeires."†

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* Norbertus appears to have been a very diligent artist, if the numerous medals of the Pretender's family which bear the initials "N.R." were his work.

† In Pepys' Memoirs another variety in the spelling of this name occurs in the following passage :—"There dined with us to-day Mr. Slingsby, of the Mint, who shewed us all the new pieces both gold and silver (examples of them all) that were made for the King, by Blondeau's way; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter, made by Symons, and of the King by one *Rotyr*, a German, I think, that dined with us also. He extols those of Rotyr above the others; and, indeed, I think they are the better; because the sweeter of the two; but, upon my word, those of the Protector are more like in my mind, than the King's; but both very well worth seeing. The crownes of Cromwell are now sold, it seems, for 25s. and 30s. a-piece."

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If you, or any of your correspondents, could elucidate these points, it would be very satisfactory to several of your readers. In Pinkerton's Medallic History of England, Plate 31, No. 4, is a medal of Charles II., which has under the bust of the King, "Philip Roti, F." In Plate 36, No. 2, is a medal of the Duke of Lauderdale; on the reverse of which, in the exergue, we read, "Joan Roti, F." It is somewhat remarkable that in both these medals the Christian name is given at full length, while the *surname* is abbreviated. B. N.

London, 16 *January*, 1840.

Catalogue of Roman Silver Coins in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.—This is one of the evidences that the study of ancient coins is gaining ground. The compiler, Mr. John A. Mallet, a fellow of the College, has evidently not had the best works to consult during the performance of his task; but this redounds the more to his credit. Few persons, we believe, could have produced so good a catalogue with so few means and appliances; and this compilation is a pleasing record of the good taste, industry, and discrimination which have been employed in its execution. The circumstances which led to the undertaking of this catalogue are explained in the preface, from which we take the following:—"The collection of coins, of which the following is a catalogue, having been for many years unarranged, and almost unknown in the College Library, I undertook the task of arranging them, at the direction of the heads of the College; and, though wholly inexperienced in such matters, I did so the more readily, hoping that it might excite in the College some enquiry, at least, about a study too generally neglected." Mr. Mallet informs us that there is a large number of Roman brass coins, and from three to four hundred Greek silver, "but in a state of complete confusion." We sincerely trust he may be encouraged to proceed to catalogue these also.

Discoveries at Strood, Kent.—In addition to the coins found in the Roman burial-ground, and detailed in a preceding number, may be added a remarkably fine specimen of the Britannia type of Antoninus Pius. Second brass.—*Obverse.* Antoninus Aug. Pius, pp. trp. xviii. Laureated head to the right.—*Reverse.* Britannia cos. iv. In exergue, s. c. Britannia seated on a rock, with labarum and shield. It is in the possession of Mr. Stephen Steele, of Strood.

Discoveries at Chesil Beach, near Portland.—It appears that Roman coins are found at particular seasons of the year in

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this locality. Captain Manning, R.N., of Portland Castle, has been so obliging as to forward us three specimens, with the following remarks:—"The coins are found about a mile from Portland, on the west side of the Chesil Beach. The whole of the Chesil Beach is about seventeen miles long, about a quarter of a mile wide, and one hundred feet high above the level of the sea at low water. It rests on a bed of blue clay, and during very heavy gales, when a portion of the Beach scours away, the clay becomes visible, and in it are found coins and other remains." Those forwarded are of Lucius Ælius, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina the Elder. It is supposed by some that a Roman galley may have been wrecked at the spot; but it is equally, if not more probable, that they may fall from the foundering of the Cliff. It would be desirable to know if they are ever discovered in the fields above the Cliffs.

Discovery at the Giant's Causeway, Ireland.—A number of Roman silver coins were recently found under a large flag-stone at this celebrated spot. They were examined by J. C. Mallet, Esq., of Trin. Col., who informs us that they were all common, and in bad condition.

Forgeries of Ancient Coins.—We have just received a communication from a correspondent respecting the individual whose frauds we have so often exposed, and who, it seems, "unwhipt by justice," is still impudently, and, as it were, in defiance of the law, exercising his nefarious and profitable trade.

We have hitherto been somewhat scrupulous about publishing all the information we have been in possession of concerning the swindlings of this rogue; perhaps from being too delicate in consulting the feelings of the suffering parties in preference to the more important consideration of the public good, and partly from hoping that some spirited individual would ere this have brought the scamp to a stand-still. However, as the arch-impostor is apparently yet in the plenitude of his vocation, we shall not stay our hand, but, in justice to the public, make known any authenticated facts that may from time to time be brought before us.

It appears that about three months since, a person about sixty years old, rather short and slight, calling himself Dr. James Edwards, of Waterford, in Ireland, called on Mr. Levi, a silversmith in Plymouth, and offered him a collection of coins, which he stated to have belonged to a clergyman in Ireland lately deceased, and whose executors had sold them to him, together with some carvings in ivory, a box in mosaic, a cameo of Alexander, &c.

From these representations, and the gentlemanly appearance and good address of the fellow, Mr. Levi, in conjunction with a fellow-

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tradesman, was induced to purchase the coins and other articles of *vert* , for, as is reported, the enormous and almost incredible sum of *three thousand pounds !*

Immediately after the purchase was completed, information was given to the Mayor of Plymouth, that the property bought by Mr. Levi and his friend had been stolen, and that they had entered into the bargain knowing the fact. They were summoned before the Mayor again and again, but in the interval were ordered, in evidence of the correctness of the transaction, to write to the person of whom they had purchased (who had left Plymouth within twelve hours after receiving his money), and get his testimony that the coins came honestly into his possession. This was done; but, it is almost unnecessary to add, no Dr. James Edwards was known in Waterford: and, in due course of time, the letter was returned to Levi from the Dead Letter Office.

It is suspected that the story told the Mayor of Plymouth about the coins being stolen, was a *ruse* of Singleton's (*alias* Edwards), to give publicity to the coins, and induce persons to buy of Levi.

From the description of this Edwards, there can be do doubt but that he is the same person who has been to most towns in England, fleecing individuals and public museums of large sums in the most merciless manner. In December he was at Winchester, and narrowly escaped being apprehended there as a rogue and swindler; and, it is presumed, he visited Plymouth next.

Now, what course will Mr. Levi pursue? Will a reward be offered for his apprehension? We hope he must see that it is his duty to bring the cheat to justice, which we think may be done. If Mr. Levi will consult with us, we shall be happy to render him any service in our power; and there can be no doubt but that every one of our readers will co-operate to stop this impudent swindler in his hitherto successful career. The instant he is detected, let him be given in charge to a police-officer or constable, and taken before a magistrate, who would commit him either at once or remand him till further evidence could be produced.

Any persons who have been duped, upon making a deposition before a magistrate, of the fraudulent representations under which they were induced to part with their money, may obtain a warrant for his apprehension; which may be executed in any part of England, the case being clearly within the statute of Geo. IV.*

* 7 *and* 8 *Geo.* 4, *c.* 29, *section* 53.

"And whereas a failure of justice frequently arises from the subtle distinction between larceny and fraud, for remedy thereof be it enacted that if any person shall by any false pretence obtain from any other person any chattel, money, or valuable security, with intent to cheat or defraud any person of the same, every such offender shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and being

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As one step on our part towards effecting this desired end, we annex six lists our correspondent has sent us of the coins sold to Mr. Levi, and which appear to be such as compose the forger's stock-in-trade.* With them is a memorandum written by him also, apparently for passing off forgeries of the well-known Hexham Stycas, the signature of which there is every reason to believe, though intended for that of the Sexton, is also spurious.

The lists we annex were left as vouchers, or title-deeds, with some of the forgeries he got rid of at Plymouth. Our Correspondent has transcribed them *verbatim et literatim*.

They were six in number (two or more containing copper coins not being with the general collection, which was in silver). One of these lists had instead of figures the alphabet down to Z, and some other letters, about eight, arranged thus :—OE—OR—OP—L. This alphabet list began with the following.

No. 1.

Antigonus—Metapontum — Alexander—Achaia—Argos—Egina—Athens—Pericles—Athens—Faustina the younger—Philip, Roman—Consular—Domitian—Nerva—Trajan—Consular—Curious Medal of .....—Sixpence of Charles I.—Full-faced Groat Hen. 8.—Richard, Poitou Penny — Commonwealth — Northumberland, Styca—Ancient British, Cunobeline—Do. do.—Saxon, Anlaff—Ancient Irish Penny—Saxon, Ieanburt reverse—Offa—Henry, Aquitaine—Charles.

No. 2.

Beginning with M A—M B—M C—L. After M the alphabet as M. 1. M. 2. M. 3. &c.

Alexander—Lysimachus—Phocis—Antigonus of Macedon—Curious Greek coin, unpublished—Egina—Athens Perinthus—Histiæa?—Antigonus — Domitianus — Hadrian (Romulo Conditor :) — Severus (Victoria Brit.)—Irish Groat—Philip and Mary Sixpence—David, Scotch Groat—Richard 2nd, Penny—John, Penny—Alexander First, Penny—Saxon—Saxon Irish—Ethelwulf—Cœnwulf, Saxon—Stycæ of Northumberland—Vigmond, Archbishop of York and *Eanred*—Ancient British—Edwig—Edward I., Penny.

No. 3.

Lesbos — Egina — Ancient Greek, unpublished — Agrigentum — Athens—Metapontum—Cleopatra with elephant's proboscis—Faustina — Antoninus — Geta — Commodus — Trajan — Ancient British—

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convicted thereof shall be liable, at the discretion of the court, to be transported beyond the seas for the term of seven years, or to suffer such other punishment by fine or imprisonment, or by both, as the court shall award. Provided always, that if upon the trial of any person indicted for such misdemeanour it shall be proved he obtained the property in question in such a manner as to amount in law to larceny, he shall not by reason thereof be entitled to be acquitted of such misdemeanour. And no such indictment shall be removable by certiorari. And no person tried for such misdemeanour shall be liable afterwards to be prosecuted for larceny upon the same facts."

* Where these coins are fabricated remains to be made known,—whether in Paris or in London; and also whether the itinerant dealer be a principal in a gang, or merely an agent. We shall have further evidence in our next number.

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Saxon, Eanbald Saxon Stycæ, *found at Hexham**—Edward the elder's Half-penny, only two known.—Ethelwald—Northumberland Saxon, Sihtric—Ancient British, Cunobeline.—Robert, Half-groat—David, Scotch—Robert, Groat—Alexander, Half-groat—Robert, Half-do.—Henry 8, ½ Groat—Henry 4. Penny—Richard 3, ½ Groat.

No. 4.

Philip of Macedon—Achaia—Arsaces—Neoptolemus.—Carthage—Unknown—Athens, owl full-faced—Chalcis—Probus (gloria orbis)—Vespasian (his 2 sons)—Geta (Vota Publica)—Augustus—Consular—Eadwald (Pinkerton says £10†)—Offa of Mercia—Edwig Ludovicus—Irish—Boadicea — Cunobeline — Stycæ—Richard 3 Groat—David 2nd do.—Edward, Irish—James 3d, Scotch Groat—David 2d do.—Robert 2nd Penny—Elizabeth Three-farthing—Crown-piece of Oxford RRRR.—Gold Ryal of Henry VII., supposed unique—2 small gold coins.

No. 5.

Pausanias—Istrus—Athens—Samos—Istiæa—Achaia—Perdiccas—Athens—Large Denarius, (head of Janus)—Valerian—Caracalla with Plautilla—Alexander the Great—Gordian Africanus—Vitellius—Julia Domna—Consular—Boadicea—Ancient British—Richard, Aquitaine—Beornwulf—Egbert—Wiglaff—Irish—William Rufus—Edward VI. ½ Crown—Henry VIII. full-faced Groat—Do. Jane Seymour—James I. Irish Sixpence—Robert Bruce, Penny—Henry VIII., Ecclesiastic ½ groat—Do. do. Half-penny—Stycæ—Do. do.‡

No. 6.

Heliocles Elnign (unique?)—Lesbos, large—Abdera, Alexander the Great — Athens, Pericles type — Perinthus—Thebes — Egina—Richard, Acquitaine Penny—Vigmond, Archbishop of York—Cœnwulf—York—Irish—Cunobeline—Ancient British—Philip and Mary, Shilling—Henry IV., Calais Groat—Richard III. ½ Groat—Mary, Groat—Henry VII., ½ Groat—Do. Penny—Edward, Black Prince, Penny—Edward, Black Prince, Half-penny—John, ½ Penny—Otho—Salonina—Domitian—Vespasian—Cæsar—Consular—Stycæ—Do—Do.

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* In order to give validity to these, the following memorandum was found with a signature, purporting to be that of John Olliver, the sexton of Hexham :—

The Testimony of Olliver, the Sexton.
June 30th, 1834.

A curious vesel (sic) containing a variety of ancient coins of Radulf, who reigned in Northumberland from the year 572 to 578—Ethelbred of Northumbria, and Enred, under whom the independent kingdom of Northumberland closed with the dissolution of the Heptarchy, in the year 810—and also coins of the two Eanbalds, Archbishops of York from 783 to 812—and Sigmond, Archbishop of York from 830 846—was discovered, about eight feet below the surface, in the church-yard of Hexham, Northumberland, by John Olliver, sexton, while he was digging a grave at the west side of the north transept of the church, on the 15th of October, 1832.

JOHN OLLIVER.

† Several notices of this kind, of the value or rarity, are affixed, as RRR, or RRRR!!

‡ This list was marked from Pausanias 247, to the Stycæ do. 822.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

The Society resumed their Monthly Meetings on THURSDAY, 28th NOVEMBER, 1839.

Edward Hawkins, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A., President, in the Chair.

Numerous presents to the Society were announced. The following papers were read—

I.

A Memoir by Mr. Borrell, on the Coins of Ephesus while called Arsinoe (p. 171).

II.

A Note by Mr. C. R. Smith on a quantity of Silver Coins of James I. and Charles II., recently found at Brampton, in Huntingdonshire, on the estate of the Earl of Sandwich.

III.

A Paper by Mr. Birch, on certain unedited Asiatic Coins in the British Museum (p. 160).

Dr. Lee exhibited to the Society an unedited Brass Coin, of Cunobeline, found at Berkhampstead (described at p. 192).

Frederick Verachter, Esq., of Antwerp; and H. P. Borrell, Esq., of Smyrna, were elected associates.

The following gentlemen were elected members:

Joseph Curt, Esq.
Samuel Holehouse, Esq.
John Lister, Junr., Esq.

The Society then adjourned to—

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THURSDAY, 26th DECEMBER, 1839.

Edward Hawkins, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Presents were announced, and the following Papers read.

I.

A Notice of the Coins of Apollonia in Lycia, by Mr. Borrell (p. 182).

II.

On the types of the Coins of the Ænianes of Thessaly, by the same.

James V. Millingen, Esq., of Florence; and Alexander Cunningham, Esq., of the Himalaya, East Indies, were elected associates.

The Meeting then adjourned to—

THURSDAY, 30th JANUARY, 1840.

Edward Hawkins, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Presents were announced. Read—

I.

A Notice, by the President, Mr. Hawkins, of a quantity of Saxon Coins, discovered near Gravesend, Kent, in the year 1838, with a Catalogue of the various legends, in *fac simile*.

II.

A Paper by Mr. Birch, on some coins connected with the Geography of Galatia (p. 223).

III.

The first portion of a Memoir by Mr. Akerman, on the Cæsarean Consulship, as recorded on Imperial Coins.

Mr. Gerard exhibited to the Society several Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Coins in brass.

The Society then adjourned to—

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THURSDAY, 27th FEBRUARY, 1840.

Edward Hawkins, Esq., in the Chair.

The following papers were read—

I.

A Note by Mr. Doubleday, on a remarkable gold Gaulish Coin.

II.

An Account of a number of Denarii recently discovered at Knapwell, by Mr. Robert Fox.

III.

A Letter on the Kesitah of the Scriptures, by Dr. Grotefend (p. 248).

IV.

The second and concluding portion of a Memoir on the Cæsarean Consulship, by Mr. Akerman.

Lord Albert Conyngham, M.P., exhibited to the Society Drawings by Mr. Thomas Farmer Dukes, in illustration of Wroxeter, in the county of Salop, the Uriconium of Roman Britain. These Drawings comprised a Map of the site of the Ancient Station; Sepulchral Monument of Tiberius Claudius Terentius, a Roman of the Equestrian Order; Remains of the Roman Wall; a general View of Wroxeter and the Wrekin Mountain; with neat Drawings of many Coins, Rings, Gems, &c., discovered on that spot. Among the coins were some of Carausius and Allectus.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Mr. G. G. Francis is engaged in a history of Swansea, and will be obliged to collectors of Tradesmen's tokens for the communication of descriptions, or casts, &c. of any specimens struck in that town during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

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H. An ancient Spanish coin: the characters are Celtiberian, and have never been properly explained. Consult *Florez*, "Medallas de las Colonias, municipios, y pueblos antiguos de España," etc. Madrid, 1757—1773. 3 vols. 4to.

G. C. A forgery, but an ancient one. They abound in the Roman series, both consular and imperial, more especially of Claudius and Tiberius. See *Pliny*, xxxviii. 47.

J. M. A Gros of the famous Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. A very common coin. It is worthy of remark that this Gros is often found in London and its neighbourhood; sometimes in the bed of the Thames. The commerce which our English merchants formerly had with those of Flanders may account for the introduction of this coin. But we are tempted to assign another reason for its being sometimes found in the North of England. This Gros must have been in common circulation after the death of Charles at Nancy; and as Martin Swart and his followers, who landed with the Pretender Simnel in Lancashire, to depose Henry VII., were doubtless well paid *before-hand* by the Duchess of Burgundy, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of those very pieces once filled the pouches of the Flemings who fell at the battle of Stokefield. This, to be sure, is mere conjecture; but the frequent finding of the same piece, while those of other foreign Princes of this period are rarely discovered in this country, is deserving of notice.

R. No *Medallions* of Carausius are known, in any metal. The piece given by M. Mionnet, and from him inserted in the "*Descriptive Catalogue*," is, as we are informed by M. Longpérier, a third brass coin, washed with silver.

The *Blätter fur Münzkunde* will, for the future, appear in the *octavo* form, and be published in the same manner as the *Revue Numismatique*, under the superintendence of its learned and able editor, Dr. H. Grote; to whom we shall be happy to forward the names of subscribers. Dr. Grote significantly observes, that even those who do not understand the German language will *readily comprehend the plates;* and that of these there will be an additional number. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that accurate plates of continental coins must greatly assist our English collectors in their studies. English types after the Conquest, and even those of the Anglo-Saxons, were frequently copied by foreign moneyers.

Our Oxford Correspondent will find the type of the figure attacking a serpent on the coins of Corinth, illustrated in Millingen's "*Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings.*"

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London, 1831, p. 60. The termination in OYM occurs on the coins of Mamertini in Sicily. It is an old Æolic form, introduced into Italy by the Greek colonists. From this the Latin termination in the genitive plural, UM was derived. This termination is found on the coins of Ossa and of Tylissus, as shown by Mr. Millingen in the same work.

J. R. P.'s relic is a *pocket-piece*, and not a Queen Anne's farthing, as he supposes. We thought the vulgar belief in the rarity and consequent value of this coin was no longer entertained, until we saw in the Times newspaper, a few days since, an advertisement offering one for sale. The truth is, that the current farthing of Anne is of no great scarcity; and if our correspondent doubts our assertion, we beg to refer him to any dealer in coins, who will procure him half a dozen specimens for a few shillings a piece.

We hope, ere long, to give a plate of unpublished Sceattas. These pieces, though often uninscribed, should be carefully engraved, and any particulars *of their finding* properly recorded.

Thanks to Mr. G. Roberts. An impression in sealing wax, carefully taken, with the weight marked in Troy grains, will answer our purpose. It is dangerous to send valuable coins by the post under the present system; and it cannot be too generally known that there is *no redress* in the event of loss.

W. The discovery at Beaworth has rendered the PAXS type of William the Conqueror extremely common.

Our best thanks are due to Mr. John Bell, of Gateshead, for numerous impressions of coins which he has from time to time forwarded to us.

R. S. We are obliged to our correspondent for a very pretty drawing of the medal of John, Elector of Saxony. Medals of this description are not uncommon. One precisely similar was sometime since exhibited to the Numismatic Society (see Num. Journal, vol. II., p. 255). Our best thanks are also due for a drawing of an unpublished coin of Archbishop Wulfred. The copper piece is doubtless what our correspondent supposes it to be, the badge of a falconer, or of some menial servant.

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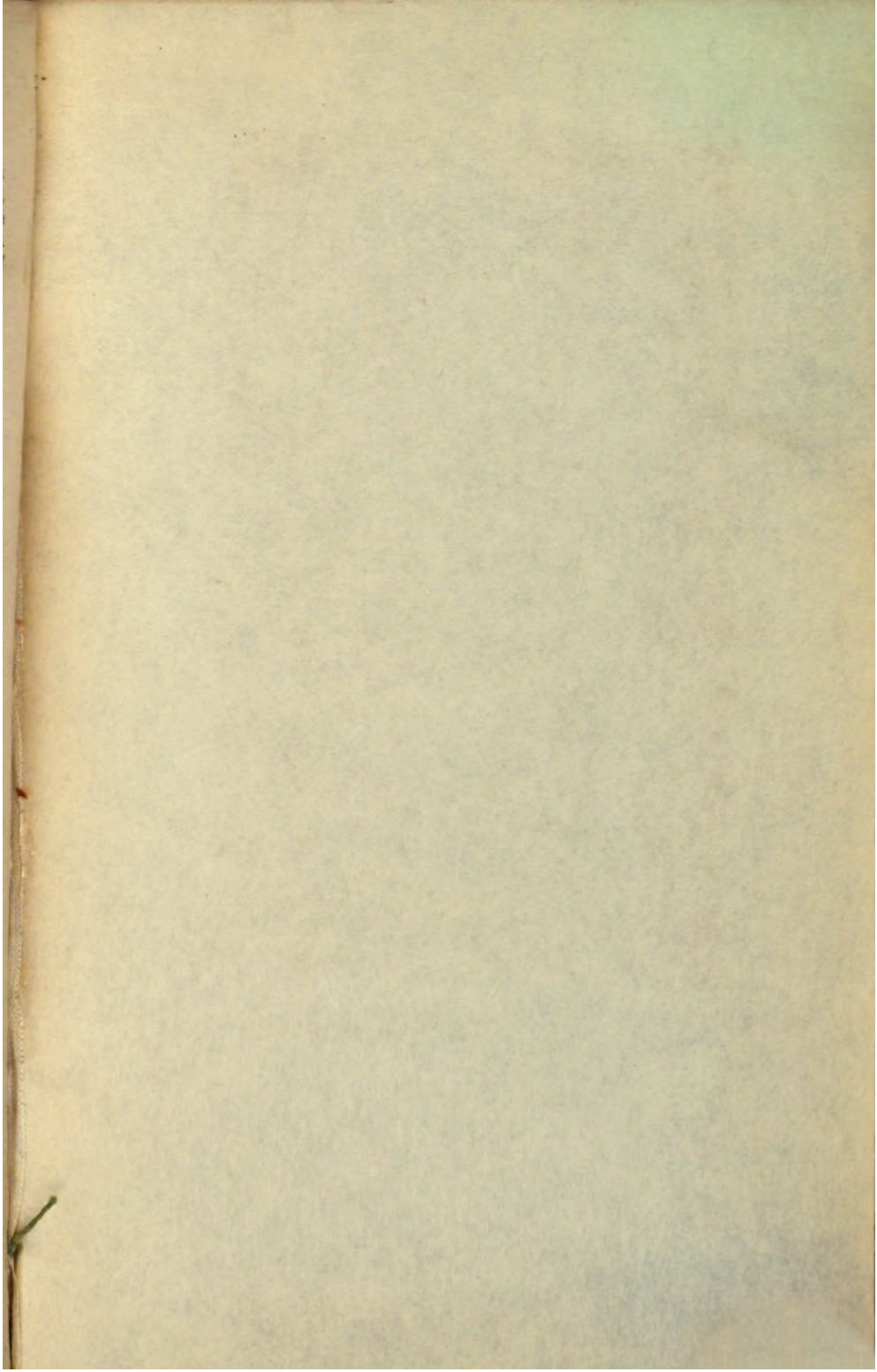

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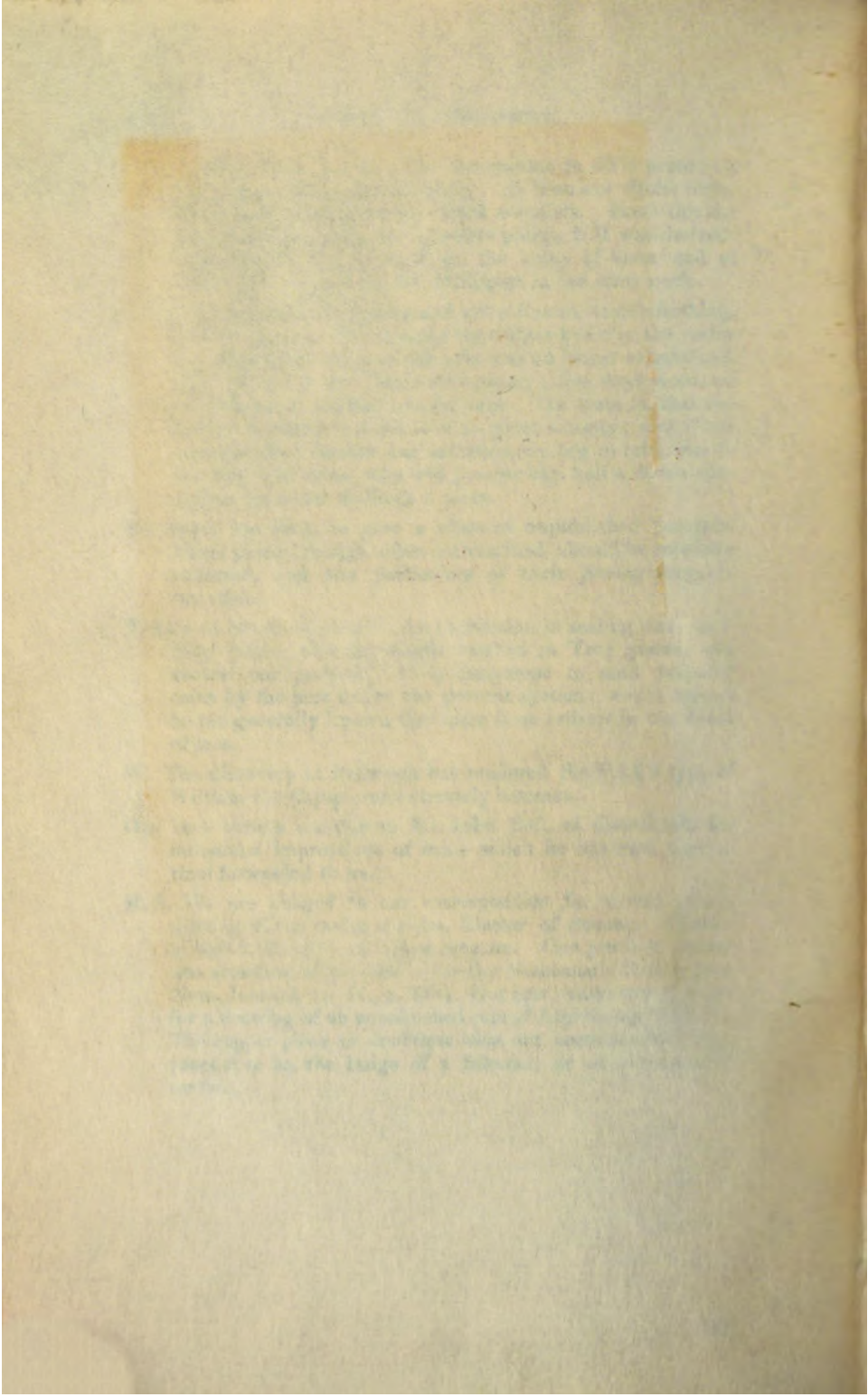

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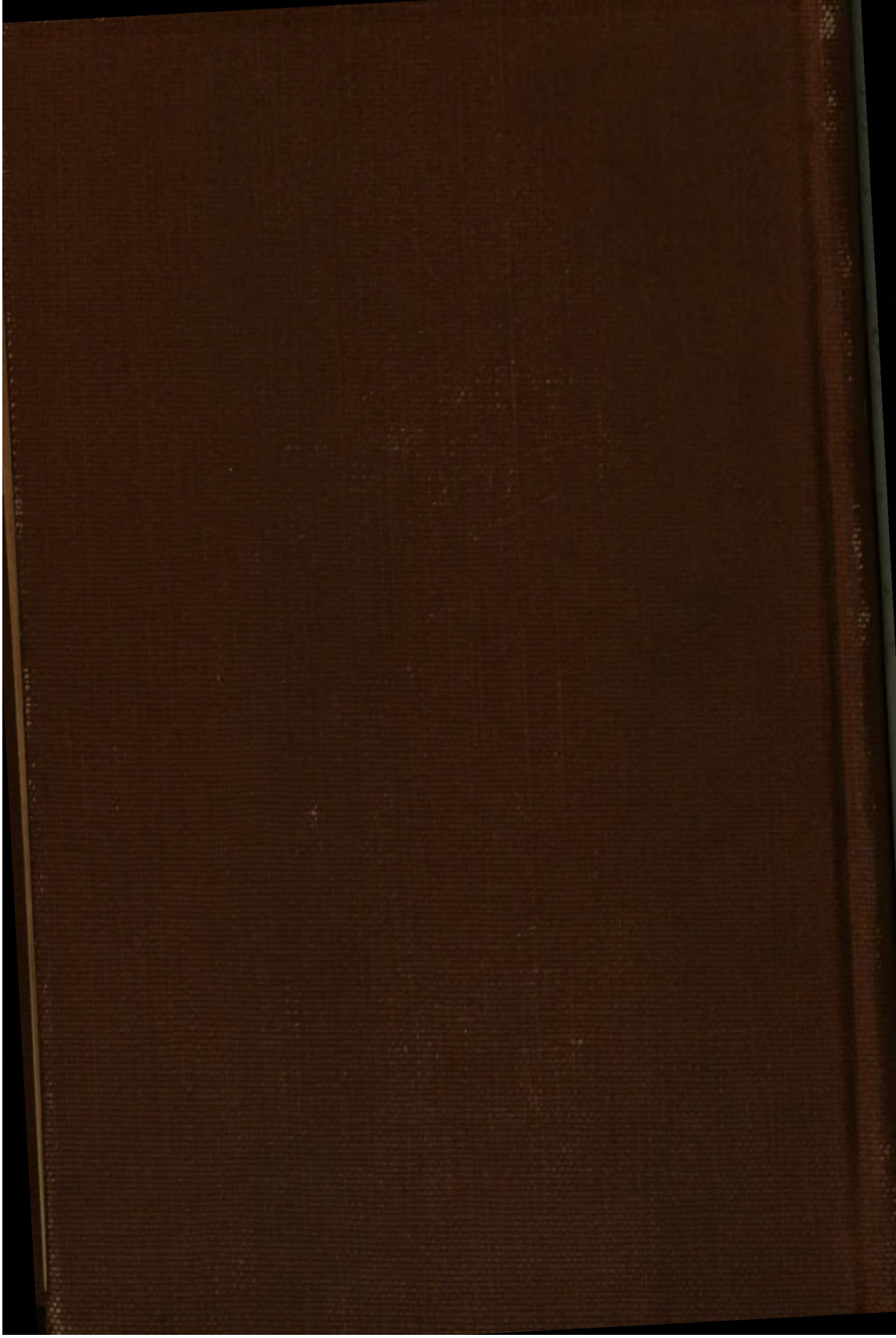

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